SECRET

PERSONAL RECORD QUESTIONNAIRE
PART II - OPERATIONAL INFORMATION

PRQ NO.

DISPATCH NO.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CASE OFFICER

1. This form must be filled in by the case officer or appropriate authority on the basis of the best available information. It is not to be shown to the subject.
2. Normally, headquarters will be unable to issue an approval unless requester furnishes answers to all questions in PRQ parts I and II. However, in an emergency provisional approval may be obtained by complying with the applicable provisions of FR 10-215, paragraphs 6a, 8, 12b and 12d. Thereafter the usual method to document or complete the case must be followed as set forth in FR 10-215.
3. Three (3) completed copies of PRQ part I (including copy in subject's handwriting, if possible) and two (2) completed copies of this form must be sent to headquarters as soon as possible.
4. Data acquired later must be sent to headquarters in PRQ format in two (2) copies.
5. Fill in all items, if information obtainable. If item not applicable write "NA." If additional space required for item, use reverse side of page keyed to appropriate item number.

1. CRYPTONYM	2. PSEUDONYM
QREBONY/1	Frederick T. Dominic

SECTION I — CONTACT AND DEVELOPMENT

1. INDICATE HOW, WHEN, WHERE, WHY, AND BY WHOM SUBJECT WAS FIRST CONTACTED OR DEVELOPED.

In response to Headquarters requests, London Station officer George H. KatZenbach contacted Subject in London in mid-January 1965 for the purpose of debriefing him on his experiences in the pro-ChiCom milieu in Africa and western Europe up to the time of his departure from the staff of Revolution in sping 1964. This was followed up by in-depth debriefing sessions carried out by Katzenbach in a PBSWING conference room on 17,18,19 and 23 February. On the basis of these talks it was decided to recruit Subject for a test assignment in Algiers during the summer of 1965 during which time he would attempt to build long-term access and cover for reporting on activities and personalities in the Afro-Asian community. KUDESK/ICG staffer Joseph S. Tiffany was dispatched to London TDY 1-7 June for this purpose. ~~Afrm~~ After recruitment and agreement to LCFLUTTER examination, Subject was introduced to his Paris-based Case Officer, Rufus F. RODIGAST, on 3 June.

2. INDICATE WHETHER SUBJECT COULD BE TURNED OVER QUICKLY AND IN A SECURE MANNER TO ANY RESPONSIBLE CASE OFFICER FOR HANDLING. IF SO, INDICATE TO WHOM.

Yes/ To any Case Officer introduced to him by RODIGAST, TIFFANY or KATZENBACH.

3. LIST OTHER CASE OFFICERS WHO HAVE HANDLED SUBJECT OR WHOM HE KNOWS OR HAS KNOWN. GIVE NAMES BY WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN KNOWN.

KATZENBACH - known to Subject as "Earl Wilson"

TIFFANY - " " " " "Robert 'Bob' Gustke"

RODIGAST - " " " " "Paul Weller"

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SECTION II MOTIVATION AND CONTROL

1. ESTIMATE SUBJECT'S MOTIVATION. *(Be detailed, if possible cite evidence. Do not use stock comment such as "an communist.")*

Subject's lack of funds and a job are of primary importance. His need for cash (evidenced to some extent by his attempt to peddle articles to China Quarterly, Encounter and Atlantic Monthly in the fall of '64) was critical. But of even greater significance is his desire to effect his long-range rehabilitation in order not to be stuck in the morass of the impecunious and "morally fraudulant" extreme left

2. INDICATE WHAT CONTROL, IF ANY, EXISTS OVER THE SUBJECT. *(If no control, or if there is a lack of real control explain.)*

for the rest of his life. Also important in Subject's motivation is the sense of adventure connected with "The Game", which is enhanced by his desire to deceive (to put one over on) those persons, such as Verges, who exploited and deceived him. Subj. evinces deep contempt for these professional revolutionaries and what he refers to, with feeling, as their "moral fraud".

Control exists quite strongly in the area of Subject's material welfare and need for rehabilitation.

SECTION III COVER

1. COVER USED BY SUBJECT AND CASE OFFICER IN THEIR MEETINGS.

Subj. explained to his wife that "Wilson" (Katzenbach), who telephoned his home was an American publisher's representative. Subj. and Rodigast will use a journalist/literary agent cover in the unlikely event their clandestine meetings are compromised.

2. COVER USED BY SUBJECT IN OBTAINING HIS INFORMATION AND IN CONTACTING HIS INFORMANTS.

Freelance journalist, author. sympathetic leftist

3. INDICATE SERVICE FOR WHICH SUBJECT THINKS HE *(Will work) (Is working)*.

KUBARK

SECTION IV INTELLIGENCE CONNECTIONS AND TRAINING

1. EXPLAIN SUBJECT'S KNOWN PAST OR PRESENT CONNECTION WITH ANY OTHER INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. INDICATE THE EXTENT SUCH CONNECTION IS KNOWN OVERTLY.

Subj. applied for association with KUBARK in 1950 and again in 1960; his enemies have tried to discredit him by calling him a KUBARK agent, but there is good evidence that this rumor campaign has not hurt him among his friends, even his friends on the extreme left of the political spectrum. No known I. S. connection.

2. LIST OTHER INDIVIDUALS *(Agents, relatives, friends)* WHO KNOW OF SUBJECT'S PRESENT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

None.

3. EXPLAIN ANY TRAINING SUBJECT HAS HAD IN CLANDESTINE OPERATIONS.

Basic security tradecraft briefings in London 1 - 7 June 1965;
SW training in Paris 14 June 1965.

SECTION V COLLABORATION POTENTIAL

1. INDICATE OTHER FOREIGN POWER SUBJECT WOULD BE MOST LIKELY TO COLLABORATE WITH BECAUSE OF HIS IDEOLOGY OR PAST ASSOCIATIONS. EXPLAIN.

British. Subj. resided in London from June '64 to June '65. His wife is a British subject.

SECRET

SECTION VI — OPERATIONAL USE - CONTACT

1. IF SUBJECT HAS BEEN USED OR CONTACTED BEFORE, INDICATE ACTIVITY IN WHICH HE WAS ENGAGED AND THE TYPE OF INFORMATION HE HAS FURNISHED.

In December 1963 Subj. was interviewed by a consulate officer in Paris for information on Lee Harvey Oswald, who reportedly had some contact with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Subj. was completely co-operative and the interviewer suggested follow-up, but the contact was dropped.

2. INDICATE HOW AND FROM WHOM SUBJECT OBTAINS INFORMATION.

Subj. elicits information from his broad circle of friends and acquaintances in the Afro-Asian/liberation movement areas.

3. INDICATE WHAT HAS BEEN TOLD SUBJECT AS TO THE DISPOSITION OF INFORMATION HE FURNISHES.

Nothing

4. DETAIL SUBJECT'S PROPOSED FI OR CI TYPE USE OR DUTIES.

Subject will operate under free lance journalist cover to develop contacts in the target milieu of Afro-Asian "Anti-imperialist" activity and solicit information from them on their activity, plans and views. It is possible that such contacts may lead to a possibility of employment or association with some organization in this field, but whether or not he will be instructed to accept will depend on the specific nature of the job and similar factors which cannot be anticipated now.

5. DETAIL SUBJECT'S PROPOSED PP-PM TYPE USE OR DUTIES.

No PM duties or use is anticipated. No systematic CA exploitation is anticipated given the risk of compromise. Selective CA exploitation within his cover situation - i.e. as a provacateur or means to surface anti-Soviet material from a "National Liberation" standpoint - will be continually possible.

SECTION VII — PROPOSED LIAISON OR OPERATIONAL ACTIVITY

1. DETAIL SUBJECT'S PROPOSED LIAISON TYPE CONTACT OR OPERATIONAL USE:

A. WHERE SUBJECT IS AN OFFICIAL MEMBER OF A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT:

None.

B. WHERE SUBJECT IS AN OFFICIAL MEMBER OF AN ODYOKE AGENCY:

SECTION VIII — AGENCY RELATIONSHIP WITH SUBJECT

1. EXPLAIN NATURE OF AGENCY RELATIONSHIP WITH SUBJECT: I.E. TRAINEE, OPPOSITE NUMBER, REMUNERATION, IF ANY: AGENCY PERSONNEL KNOWN TO SUBJECT.

Subj. has a contract for 1 June - September 1965 providing for salary of $500.00 per month, non-accountable expenses of $100.00 per month and per diem computed at the rate of $20 for days spent travelling to and from Algiers and $10 for period of residence in Algiers. (The $10 rate represents an oral amendment to the contract.) This is to be renegotiated o/a 1 September for extension to two years with 30-day termination clause.

SECTION IX — **QUALIFICATIONS FOR OTHER OPERATIONS**

1. INDICATE SPECIAL ABILITIES, TALENTS, OR QUALIFICATIONS POSSESSED BY SUBJECT WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY BE OF VALUE FOR OTHER OPERATIONS.

Subject's skill as writer/editor may qualify him for CA work.

SECTION X — **COMMITMENTS**

1. IF IT IS PROPOSED TO PAY SUBJECT A REGULAR SALARY, INDICATE THE WEEKLY AMOUNT. IF PAYMENT TO BE MADE IN EXCHANGE COMMODITIES, SUBSIDY OR OTHER METHOD, SPECIFY AND GIVE DETAILS.

See Section VIII. In addition it is set forth in the Letter of Agreement with Subject, that KUBARK will compensate Subject for any relocation of his family required by virtue of an approved change in place of employment.

2. EXPLAIN ANY PROMISES, OTHERWISE NOT COVERED HEREIN, MADE TO SUBJECT. *(Example: Commitments regarding evacuation of subject and family.)*

See Letter of Agreement. KUBARK recognizes its moral obligation to protect Subject against any adverse action which might result from activities engaged in by Subject at the request of KUBARK during his period of employment.

SECTION XI — **CE AND SECURITY**

1. INDICATE THE FIELD AGENCIES AND FIELD FILES WITH WHICH SUBJECT'S NAME HAS BEEN CHECKED AND THE RESULTS.

London, Algiers, Paris Station files; JAGUAR, ODENVY traces and reports are also included in material available on Subject.

2. INDICATE OTHER INVESTIGATIVE MEASURES TAKEN TO VERIFY BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SUBJECT.

Reports have been received by various QKOPERA contract agents.

3. INDICATE WHETHER OR NOT PROVISIONAL OPERATIONAL APPROVAL OR OPERATIONAL APPROVAL FOR SUBJECT'S USE HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY OBTAINED.

No POA required under the terms of CSI 10-5.

4. DATE APPROVAL OBTAINED

5. EVALUATE SUBJECT'S CHARACTER, RELIABILITY AND SECURITY, CITING EVIDENCE WHERE POSSIBLE.

Subject is a rather cynical intellectual. He has a keen sense of what is in his best interest, however, and there is xxx every reason to believe that he considers a reliable and secure performance for KUBARK to be in his best interest. He showed a good sense of security in communications during his recruitment period. LCFLUTTER examination 13 June 1965 revealed no deception by Subject.

6. EXPLAIN ANY SITUATION OR INDISCRETION IN WHICH SUBJECT MAY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED WHICH MUST BE EVALUATED FROM A CE/OPERATIONAL SECURITY VIEWPOINT.

While working for AFP in Paris (1958) Subject forged the signature of a personal enemy, Ollie Harrington, to a letter to the editor calculated to get Harrington in trouble with French authorities. Subject ahsamed of this action.

SECTION XII — **SUBJECT'S PERSONAL HABITS**

1. USE OF LIQUOR, DRUGS; GAMBLING, PARAMOURS.

Liquor in moderatiion, no drugs. He is believed to have engaged in extra-marital sexual affairs, but in a discreet manner.

SECTION XIII — **AVOCATIONAL INTERESTS**

1. INDICATE SUBJECT'S HOBBIES OR INTEREST IN SPORTS, MUSIC, ETC.

None known

SECTION XIV — **GENERAL**

1. INDICATE WHETHER SUBJECT'S LANGUAGE ABILITIES AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS, ARE SUCH AS HE COULD PASS AS A NATIVE OF A COUNTRY OR REGION OTHER THAN HIS OWN. EXPLAIN.

Subject speaks fluent but foreign-accented French. He has a functional speaking command of Spanish and Italian and can read German. Except for his language, he could pass as an Algerian.

2. INDICATE WHETHER INFORMATION IN PRQ PARTS I AND II WAS OBTAINED BY RESEARCH, CLANDESTINE ASSESSMENT, FILES, CORRESPONDENCE OR OTHER MEANS.

All source, including extensive interview of Subject during the period January - June 1965

3. IF OTHER THAN ROUTINE ACTION IS REQUIRED, IF AND WHEN TERMINATION OF SUBJECT IS EFFECTED, PLEASE EXPLAIN. *(Also see para. 43b, supra.)*

None anticipated

SECTION XV — **EMERGENCY CONDITIONS RECONTACT ARRANGEMENTS**

1. GIVE FULL DETAILS I.E. RECOGNITION SIGNALS, S/W: WHERE COULD CONTACT BE MADE: WHAT BONA FIDES COULD INDIVIDUAL MAKING CONTACT USE?

Original method of contact was phone call to Subject's home (by Katzenbach) using ~~htx~~ the name Wilson. Subsequent RODIGAST contacts have been laid on at prior meetings and vary as to time and place. ~~Ax~~ signal is provided for (removal of glasses, which both wear) should either wish to prevent the meeting. A simple carbon-pad type, low level SW was used by Subject for sending emergency messages to a Paris drop. This has been replaced by an open code system to cover specific requirements, laid ~~xx~~ on at each meeting.

SECTION XVI — **MISCELLANEOUS OPERATIONAL DATA AND REMARKS**

LCFLUTTER examination of Subject o/a 13 June (no deception reported PALP 4056).

DATE	SIGNATURE OF APPROPRIATE SENIOR OFFICER
29 June 1965	Austin Goodrich (CI/ICG/Ops)

14-00000

DISSEM: ☐ YES ☒ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO. 201-306052
X-REF TO FILE NO.
FILE RID ☐ RET. TO BRANCH ☒
DESTROY ☐ SIG.

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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SECRET

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43

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED AF/CD

FROM ALGIERS

ACTION AF 7

☒ RID COPY

ADVANCE COPY ☒ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBED

UNIT AF | TIME 0720 | BY RFC

INFO FILE VR, WE 6, FE 6, CA 2, CA/04, CI, CI/OPS, CI/IC 2, CI/OA, FI, TSD 6

SECRET 290825Z

IMMEDIATE PALP ~~DIR SITE~~ ALGI 6237

KUDESK QRPREY STEBONY ZIEET

REF : PALP 4712*

29 JUN 65 IN 01015

LOCAL SECURITY EXPECTED BE GIVING SPECIAL ATTENTION ANYONE PREVIOUSLY CONNECTED BEN BELLA, COMMUNISTS (LOCAL HUMANITE REP FORCED DEPART YESTERDAY). HAVE NO ENTRY INFO EXCEPT BELIEVE LIKELY BE EASIER FROM TUNISIA. SUGGEST YOU CHECK ALGI EMB PARI ON VISA POLICY. FROM HERE ASSUME IF IT NOT EXPIRED CAN BE USED WITHOUT REVALIDATION.

SECRET

*APPARENTLY WRONG REF. POSSIBLY PALP 4172 (IN 08695) INTENDED

** STEBONY UNABLE ENTER ALGI.

201-306052

29 June 65

SECRET

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO.: OELA-43,459

TO: Chief, ~~KUDESK~~ AF; Chief, LCPIPIT

INFO: Chief, WE; Chief, ~~AF~~ KUDESK; Chief, KUWCLP

HEADQUARTERS FILE NO.: 201-

FROM: Chief of Station, London

DATE: 28 June 1965

SUBJECT: STEBONY JAGUAR
JAGUAR Report of STEBONY Surveillance

RE: "43-3" — (CHECK "X" ONE)
MARKED FOR INDEXING
X NO INDEXING REQUIRED
INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY

ACTION REQUIRED

REFERENCE(S)

1. Pursuant to the suggestion contained in DIR 04341, 23 April 1965, we asked JAGUAR to lay on such coverage as they could manage. After some weeks has passed, and JAGUAR had not moved in this direction, we repeated our request, pointing out that STEBONY/1 would soon be leaving. Short-handed and hampered by certain restrictions, JAGUAR moved in to do what they could, and their coverage was due to start almost at the same time as TIFFANY was to begin his meetings with S/1. We contacted JAGUAR and told them to lay off (much to our chagrin) for the time being. This they did, but then, without our being advised, they resumed their coverage. We don't know exactly how long they actually had him in their sights, but they have now given us a letter (text below) suggesting that he was watched on 5, 6 and 7 June. A JAGUAR officer advised us informally that S/1 "seemed to be out of town" for one or two days. (TIFFANY had mentioned that he might take S/1 to the country for a day, but we don't know whether in fact he did so.)

2. Here is JAGUAR's notes:

"As explained in conversation on the 8th June, 1965, we have received a report on S/1's movements during the period 5th - 7th June, 1965. Nothing of interest was learnt about his movements on the 6th and 7th June, but you may be interested in the following information relating to the 5th June: -

"S/1 left his home at 11.25 and travelled by taxi to the Haymarket where he entered the American Express offices. He obtained a ticket for an air passage to Brussels and a train journey to Basle, thence to Lausanne and Paris where he was due to arrive on the 10th June. He paid £20-29-1d for his ticket. He left the American Express at 12.30 and subsequently returned home at 13.20 hours.

"He left home again at 14.05 and went to the Clarendon Court Hotel in Maida Vale. He came out of the building after five minutes and wandered around for twenty minutes before returning to the hotel. He stayed there until 18.45 when he left alone and returned home.

3. The JAGUAR officer also told me that S/1's contact at the Clarendon Court Hotel was not identified by the surveillant, who in fact did not know which room S/1 had visited. The contact, of course, was TIFFANY, registered as GUSTKE.

George H. KATZENBACH

Distribution:
~~2~~-Chief, KUDESK
2-Chief, LCPIPIT
3-Chief, WE
~~2-Chief, AF~~
2-Chief, KUWCLP

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

201-306052

CS COPY

30 JUN 1965

FORM 10-57 53 USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORMS

CLASSIFICATION

PAGE NO.

SECRET/KAPOK

Chief, KUWOLF; Chief, KUDESK; Chief, AF
Chief, WH;
Chief of Station, Algiers; Chief of Station, London.

X

Chief of Station, Paris/LCPIPIT
DTDORIC/Operational
QRPHEY/Launching the Good Ship STRBONY

REFERENCES: A. PALP 4056

B. PALP 4057

201

ACTION REQUESTED: Para 7, Para 8, Para 46.

SUMMARY

On 12 June 1965 STRBONY/1 met KUWOLF Career Agent Rufus F. RODIGAST in Paris in accordance with instructions and for the next three days underwent debriefings, briefings, an LCFLUTTER examination, and training in preparation for his summer 1965 assignment to Algiers. At the conclusion of this period LCPIPIT felt that S/1: had absorbed sufficiently the guidance given him, had responded satisfactorily to Case Officer control, was apparently clear of hostile direction, and was motivated to perform creditably throughout his three-month trial employment.

ATTACHMENTS U.S.C.:

A. Idens.
B. RODIGAST contact reports for 12,14&15 June meetings
C. RODIGAST report on STRBONY/1's comments re Frantz Panon Documentation Center, Milan.
D. RODIGAST report on STRBONY/1's comments re the British Guiana PPP office in London.
E. RODIGAST review of two published works by STRBONY/1
F. Cy of STRBONY/1 initial s/w letter to RODIGAST.

DISTRIBUTION:

2 - C/KUWOLF w/atts. A,B,C,D,E,F u.s.c.
1 - C/KUDESK w/atts. A,B,C,D,E,F u.s.c.
1 - C/AF w/atts. A,B,F u.s.c.
1 - COS/Algiers w/atts. A,B,F u.s.c.
1 - COS/London w/att. A u.s.c.
1 - C/WH w/atts. A,B,C,D u.s.c.

JUN 29 1965

OPIA 2555 25 June 1965

SECRET/KAPOK 201-306052

Personally, S/1 appeared to understand and to follow good security practices by and large, but he was concerned that his wife now suspected him of being "up to something" of which she did not approve. In short, his overall long-term security appeared weakest closest to home. Nevertheless, he appeared highly confident that previous denunciations to which he had been subjected would not "stick" and that he could rapidly reestablish himself among revolutionary circles.

His relationship to KUBARK over the longer period has apparently been of considerable interest to him, to the extent that he stated he would be interested in some sort of career status with KUBARK (with retirement benefits) and perhaps one day a "less covert" position. At this time in our relationship with S/1, however, LCPIPIT is concerned primarily with what to do with him on 1 September 1965. In fact, in view of the 19-20 June developments in Algiers and the possible postponement of most of the activities S/1 was to cover in efforts to reestablish himself as a legitimate propagandist for national liberation movements, KUBARK may find it not only feasible, but necessary, to revise S/1's initial KUBARK mission.

In the days and weeks to come we will be reporting S/1's progress as he relates his accomplishments and problems through S/W communications and in meetings with RODIGAST. We shall be submitting recommendations on S/1's longer term utility to KUBARK as we have more information upon which to make some judgments. We know that addressees will be subjecting the STEBONY operation to constant evaluation and analysis throughout the summer, and we will appreciate continued and coordinated guidance on how best to exploit the unique potential represented by this asset.

I. LCPIPIT SUPPORT FOR THE STEBONY OPERATION

1. On 3 June 1965 STEBONY/1 signed a letter of agreement with ODYOKE in London, in effect a contract with KUBARK. Upon signing the letter of agreement and agreeing to undergo an LCFLUTTER examination, S/1 was introduced to Rufus F. RODIGAST, a KUWOLF Career Agent based in Paris who had been designated S/1's outside case officer. RODIGAST is known to S/1 under the alias "Paul Weller." RODIGAST met at length with S/1 on 3, 5, and 6 June and made arrangements for S/1 to meet him in Paris 12 June and undergo further training, briefing, and security processing prior to embarking on a trial assignment of some 10 weeks.

2. On 12 June 1965 S/1 made contact with RODIGAST in Paris in accordance with instructions and was taken immediately to a safehouse for debriefing on his 8-11 June trip in West Europe and for training in the use of S/W system #64. RODIGAST's Contact Report on this meeting and his report of the debriefing are included in Attachment B (USC.). S/1 was passed $200.00 to make travel arrangements for his trip to North Africa. (See also PALP 4057).
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

3. On 13 June S/1 again met RODIGAST in accordance with instructions and was taken to his LCFLUTTER examination at an LCPIPIT safehouse. The results of this examination were forwarded in PALP 4056. In short, the outcome of the examination was considered satisfactory for the proposed operational use of S/1.

4. On 14 and 15 June RODIGAST again met with S/1 for further debriefings on the latter's contacts in Paris. RODIGAST then briefed him on KUTUBE requirements for MHPIKE and passed on the requirements and information forwarded in DIR 18107 and DIR 18675. RODIGAST's reports on these meetings are also included in Attachment B (USC). On 14 June S/1 was passed $500.00 as an advance on his per diem and travel expenses for his next meeting with RODIGAST. RODIGAST considers S/1 an apt student who learned the S/W system well in some two hours of instruction. Paris KURIOT Officer DONAHY noted some carelessness on S/1's part in the test messages, and this was subsequently brought to S/1's attention in the overall security briefing he received from RODIGAST.

5. The communications system established with S/1 consists of pre-arranged meeting sites and times, a one-way S/W system, and the use of the classified advertising section of the Algiers El Moudjahid (received daily in Paris) by S/1 to signal a postponement of meeting dates. The one-way system was chosen for this initial stage of the agent's operational relationship with KUBARK for reasons of security; given the operational climate in Algiers and the specific circles in which S/1 must move, and adding to the sudden political upheaval in Algeria, S/1 would not be in a position to receive incoming communications safely. As of 23 June S/1 had initiated S/W correspondence, his initial effort being clearly legible and the content operationally worthwhile. (See Attachment F).

6. The next RODIGAST contact with S/1 is scheduled for 15 July in Rome. (See OFLA 2538 for LCPIPIT's request for Rome Station support.) In view of the events that have just taken place in Algeria the meeting may well be concerned as much with rethinking S/1's operational objectives for the period following 16 July as with debriefings, briefings, and passage of funds. Even though latest indications are that Bandung II will proceed as scheduled, it is questionable whether the AAJA or the Afro-Asian Women's conference will be held in Algiers this summer. Moreover, there is no assurance at this writing that MHPINCH will not be either postponed, canceled, or moved elsewhere. Add to this the possibility that IDEN A might be on the scene profiting from the sudden rise in the political fortunes of his friends, and Algiers suddenly loses some of its appeal as an area in which to carry out a meaningful test of S/1's operational capabilities. The next three weeks will tell us much and perhaps allay many of our apprehensions.

7. Nevertheless, RODIGAST must be prepared to handle a number of eventualities in his 15 July meeting, not the least of these being a possible revision of S/1's mission. The following possible alternatives present themselves; we ask Headquarters to address its attention to them and to other developmental targets and to cable recommendations and guidance prior to 13 July:

A. S/1 to remain on site, continue his efforts to establish credentials and find a job in Algiers, or elsewhere, in the national liberation movement, and report on political developments in Algeria.

B. S/1 to travel to Dar es Salaam to look into the job offer made some time ago by Dennis PHOMBEAH.

C. S/1 to proceed to Brussels to continue development of IDEN B (see OFLA 2541).

D. S/1 to return to London to write up reports and operational proposals and polish up the translation of IDEN B's book.

E. S/1 to follow the MHPINCH caravan wherever it may lead (perhaps Sofia?) and continue to look for job leads (outside the Bloc).

8. The second RODIGAST meeting of the summer with S/1 is tentatively scheduled for the second week in August, site to be determined. Addressees will know that S/1's wife is expecting their third child o/a 11 August and that S/1 intends to be in London at that time if at all possible. Although he told RODIGAST he would forego a visit to London at that time if it were operationally necessary, he would find it difficult to justify his absence to his wife unless he were to have a truly plausible and urgent cover assignment. We must therefore anticipate in all likelihood that S/1 will be out of action for most of the second week of August. In any event, RODIGAST will probably be able to meet S/1 somewhere in Europe when S/1 returns to be with his wife and will at that time hope to be in a position to discuss with S/1 the best employment of his talents for the balance of the three-month contract period and to pursue with him his longer range utilization as well. Headquarters views, then, are needed both with respect to the weeks immediately following the 15 July meeting referred to in the previous paragraph as well as with respect to the post-August period.

9. Administratively, LCPIPIT has so far funded S/1 to the extent of $700.00 and has initiated action to have his salary and nonaccountable operational advance deposited to his Swiss bank account. These payments are being made in advance because of S/1's initially pressing financial needs. It is our understanding that the 1 July and 1 August 1965 deposits of $600.00 to S/1's Swiss bank account will be effected securely and on time through KDHAD/1 (see DIR 20944 and DIR 21703). Action was also taken to clarify the question of S/1's per diem. We have received his initial accountings for travel, per diem, and operational expenses for the period 8 - 12 June.

10. ON the basis of information available to LCPIPIT, S/1 has received the following payments from KUBARK since he was first contacted in London by George H. KATZENBACH in January of this year (we have no record at hand of the KUBARK funds passed S/1 by FAIRMAN of KMCRESIS):

AMOUNT	DATE	COMMENT
$300.00	1/25/65 (o/a)	Ops payment per DIR 78506
400.00	2/23/65	Ops payment per ORLN 21869
400.00	April/65	Ops payment per DIR 98974
400.00	May/65	Ops payment per DIR 04341
100.00	6/2/65	Ops payment per DIR 04341 (signing bonus)
500.00	6/3/65	Ops salary advance for June/65
100.00	6/3/65	Nonaccountable ops advance for June/65
200.00	6/3/65	Travel and per diem advance
200.00	6/12/65	Travel Advance
500.00	6/14/65	Travel and per diem advance.

TOTAL: $3,100.00

11. Beginning with the Ops payment in May 1965, these payments have been T/A'd to Headquarters for charge to YGHITCH. In addition to his present salary of $500.00 per month and his $100.00 monthly nonaccountable advance for operational expenses, S/1 is entitled to the following under the letter of agreement he signed 3 June 1965:

a) necessary expenses incurred in connection with such operational travel as may be directed or authorized by ODYOKE.

b) operational expenses in excess of $100.00 monthly nonaccountable advance as are specifically authorized by ODYOKE.

c) compensation in an amount mutually agreed upon for the relocation of S/1 and his family to a new residence if such relocation is considered desirable by S/1 and ODYOKE.

d) per diem at the rate of $20.00 per day during periods of authorized travel (i.e.: during absence from London).

II. PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT

12. At this stage in KUBARK's relationship with STRBONY/1 it is well to note certain factors that must be taken into consideration as we seek to devise a longer-term operation centered on his capabilities and potential. For the sake of brevity, if not precision, we will discuss these factors under the following headings: Personal Assets, Motivation, Handling & Guidance, Security, Termination, and KUBARK Operational Requirements.

PERSONAL ASSETS:

13. STRBONY/1, as has been noted in OELA 42,750 "really astonishes with the breadth of his personal information and understanding... [of] African affairs (especially in left-wing fields), European Trotskyists and Communists and their general milieu, and Chinese-oriented international front organizations. Similarly, he appears to be informed on certain Chicom efforts at subversion and propaganda in Latin America." Combined with this knowledge and understanding is a long list of personal contacts in left-wing revolutionary circles and a reputation as an articulate and committed agitator for national liberation movements.

14. The Agent exudes an air of self-confidence and presents himself well and dynamically in interpersonal relationships. He has demonstrated talent as a working journalist, especially as a reporter. While we have limited information here upon which to base an evaluation of the accuracy and thoroughness of his reports, they have tended to be consistent on the whole and reveal the workings of a mind capable of storing away vast amounts of information and recalling it with minimal stimulation. S/1 seems to have good command of the French language and can get by in Italian and Spanish. He has had considerable experience in international travel, apparently accommodating well to various degrees of discomfort and hardship as the case may require. He is able to use cameras and tape recorders operationally, and he quickly learned s/w techniques.

15. Because of his coloring and facial characteristics S/1 can pass relatively unnoticed as a North African, Near Easterner, South Asian, or American Negro, inter alia. He gives the impression of being able to strike up casual friendships readily and easily.

MOTIVATION:

16. This is a sticky area open to considerable speculation at this point, though there are specific actions and statements on the part of S/1 indicating he has sought some professional relationship with KUBARK for several years. We understand, for example , that he tried to establish contact with ODYOKE while a student in Italy in 1951-52, that he appeared to be most cooperative when questioned by PBSWING Paris in relation to the assassination of President Kennedy, and that he took a calculated (?) risk by writing in directly to KUBARK in the summer of 1962 offering his services. In his contacts with KUBARKers since January of this year he has given every indication of being forthcoming and, apparently, sincerely interested in cooperating with us. One has the impression he was hoping to be recruited, and he certainly didn't play hard to get.

17. Now that he has signed a letter of agreement, undergone an LCFLUTTER, and been passed a considerable amount of KUBARK money he may consider himself already "on the team," though in effect he was told specifically at the outset that he had to prove himself over the next three months. He has intimated to BODICAST that he would like to parlay his present association with KUBARK into a long-term career relationship including retirement, insurance, etc. He has even alluded to an interest in working for BODICAST's "service" in a "less covert" capacity sometime in the future.

18. One basic question rests with all of us concerned: Why?

In his early talks with the London Station and again in his talks with BODIGAST and TIFFANY the Agent has indicated some degree of disenchantment with the organizations and personalities, if not the ideology, of the left-wing factions with which he had been so intimately involved. He has never goon so far as to renounce his birthright and citizenship, nor does he consider himself disloyal after several years of professional anti-PBPRIME activity. He intimates that he would someday like to return home, though he doubts he would be allowed to live down his past and start a new career in PBPRIME.

19. On the basis of information available to us we could not say that SHENONY/1 is or ever was an ideologically committed Marxist-Leninist. We might say that he has nurtured over the years a smouldering prejudice against the "in" group, both domestically and internationally. He has been an "out" most all of his life, and he has shown a strong attachment to the causes of the downtrodden Cubans, the colonially oppressed Africans, the organizationally subdued "young Turks" of orthodox communist and other leftist movements, etc. There is no question that in his sympathy for such causes he overstepped the bounds of reason and good sense, but it is doubtful that he actually committed any treasonable offense. One has the feeling that S/1 really sought to hedge his bets on the revolutionaries by putting out feelers to KUBARK.

20. There is a strong case for the argument that hard cash plays a significant role in motivating S/1 to cooperate with KUBARK at this point in time. All reports emphasize that he was not just broke, but deeply in debt, when he began talking to London Station. Subsequently he has been receiving what amounts to a salary at a rate somewhat in excess of average for a European journalish, let alone a professional small-time revolutionary. Since he has had no valid cover story for anything other than the first advance(s) from GKOPERA, we cannot be sure that he has let his wife, his in-laws, or his immediate circle of associates know the extent of his newly-acquired affluence. He is quite capable of thinking big operationally and has bluntly stated that it takes money to "move" in Algiers and that "poverty is no virtue in the 'Third World' ".

21. But S/1 does not appear to be an out and out mercenary. There must be other factors than money alone that would lead him to cooperate with KUBARK. It could well be that he is reacting philosophically to an outlook on life that let him down despite years of devoted cultivation. In the long debriefings he rarely, if ever, mentioned anyone who he felt had really accomplished anything as a professional left-wing revolutionary. There are indications that he regards his activities over recent years as somewhat unrewarding, though there is little indication that he didn't enjoy much of what he did or that he doesn't consider the cause of the national liberation movements a just and honorable cause. He may, simply, have reappraised the results of some years of revolutionary activity with a somewhat jaundiced eye and decided it was time for a change.

22. Certainly S/1 builds a convincing case about the reasons for his break with IDEN C, but it must also be noted that ideology is not among them. If anything, it would seem he was reacting to a breach of contract and perhaps wounded pride. The net result seemed to be a well of resentment against one individual, which resentment fermented into spite and determination to "get even." If this assumption is granted, then the letter he had published in ZHEARTH and the manuscript he submitted to KMNEMESIS are both explainable and explain such. It was his involvement with these publications that triggered KUBARK's operational interest in him, and we initiated contact at a period when he was, perhaps, basking in (what he probably considered) the success of his attack on IDEN A.

23. Looked at from still another angle, S/1's future prospects in January of this year (both in his professional and his personal life) were anything but bright for: he was jobless, in debt, to some extent cast off by the revolutionary movement, apparently felt homeless (as far as having something to which he could return in PBPRIME), and (from what scraps of information we can piece together) was not experiencing a mutually agreeable marital life. (He asserts he was unfaithful and that his wife knew it. We have learned from KATZENBACH's talks with the SMOOTHERS that she was unfaithful in her turn,

though we have no confirmation of this from S/1). In such a situation KUBARK was able to offer S/1 an opportunity to, in effect, begin anew, get out of a hole, rebuild his own self-esteem, and perhaps even build up some credit toward an eventual return to PBPRIME under conditions which he would find bearable.

24. It is interesting that in his long conversations with RODIGAST he should raise the question of his motivation as if to reassure ODYOKE that he was "on the level." He protested that we must not think that he had taken on this job just to "get out of a hole" for three months and explained that he wasn't really in a hole. He claimed that his debts to his brother-in-law were not a pressing matter at all. (However, during his LCFLUTTER examination we are told that the area in which he reacted most strongly was that concerning personal obligations, especially financial. We were probing to find out if he was indeed under some obligation, financial or otherwise, to certain of his revolutionary associates of the past two and a half years, and what ensued was an outpouring of all the small and not so small debts he owed virtually everyone he knew. Foremost among these was the debt of some £ 1,500 to his brother-in-law. Whether or not he feels pressed to repay is not as important as the fact that there seem to be times when it weighs heavily on his mind.)

25. Giving S/1 the last word, the following report from RODIGAST on his 14 June conversation with the Agent should be given careful consideration: "It was clear that he was telling me, without spelling it out in words, that he had made up his mind to cooperate with us because, or partly because, he had decided he wanted to be on our side. He even used expressions like 'our side'. I had the feeling that he did not want to say outright that he was changing his political orientation for fear that we would not believe him, but that in fact he might very well be doing so; I think there was something genuine in his protestation that he wasn't with us 'only for the money'."

HANDLING & GUIDANCE:

26. The least that can be said of S/1 in summarizing his relationship with his KUBARK contacts so far is that he is not docile and passive. He appears to be a self-starter with a sense of what is necessary to get an operation off the ground. From his account of his work for IDEN C it would appear that he can honestly claim a great deal of credit for putting the English edition into business.

27. To date S/1 has expressed no reluctance to undertake his current mission nor to consider other missions for KUBARK which might work a hardship on him or place his person or reputation in jeopardy. His responsiveness, in fact, encourages us to believe that he willl accept assignments which permit him to move easily in those revolutionary left circles which are natural to him and which comprise, in effect, his natural target. He has, of course, made a case for working out of Paris, Rome, or Geneva rather than Algiers or Djakarta, but this was prior to his entering into a formal relationship with ODYOKE.

28. RODIGAST feels that he has been able to establish a good degree of working rapport with S/1 and perhaps even some degree of personal rapport. They have had some half-dozen meetings so far, including three working sessions in Paris. RODIGAST has stressed to him the vital importance of good security habits, not the least of which involves such personal behavior as will keep him out of compromising situations (in respect to his work for KUBARK).

29. S/1 has been on time for all his meetings with RODIGAST and has complied well with instructions; he submitted without hesitation to the LCFLUTTER and agreed to work with S/W (accepting the risks involved in disposal of the working materials). S/1 has not failed to remind RODIGAST of the probable cost of his upkeep and operational activities while in Algiers and has been assured that RODIGAST "fought for the $20.00 per diem

right on up the line." Needless to say, STEBONY/1 seemed most happy to know that RODIGAST was concerned for his welfare.

30. RODIGAST feels that he can manage S/1's self-assertion and dynamism, and LCPIPIT points to RODIGAST's record of handling "difficult" agents. RODIGAST's experience is reassuring in this connection, and we have no reservations about RODIGAST's ability to keep STEBONY/1 motivated in the months ahead.

31. A last word on the matter of handling: turn-over. So far S/1 has dealt with KATZENBACH, TIFFANY, and RODIGAST and has been forthcoming with all. There is no indication at this early stage that he has placed his relationship with KUBARK on a person-to-person plane nor are we sure he should be encouraged to do so. As representatives of ODYOKE the three persons mentioned above have apparently earned S/1's trust, and anyone introduced to him by one of them would probably be accepted with the same degree of confidence should the introduction of another case officer become necessary. In effect, then, we foresee no handling problem with S/1 as far as a change in case officers might be concerned. We would point out, though, that S/1 has been handled sympathetically and without hostility to date and that those who have dealt with him would strongly advise firm intelligent direction and against a provocative or heavy-handed approach to such a complex and self-centered personality.

SECURITY:

32. S/1's very background is enough to pose all the security problems one would want to contend with in any operation. At the same time it is that very background that makes him valuable to KUBARK. Therefore we can discount many logical apprehensions about his personal loyalty and motivation (discussed previously) and proceed to questions of operational security.

33. First of all, S/1 has been denounced as a KUBARK agent since the mid-1950's when, to the best of our knowledge, he wasn't actively involved in revolutionary activities. He traces this original denunciation to an incident in which he resorted to some rather unscrupulous practices (forgery and false denunciation) to get an erstwhile friend and CPUSA member (with whose wife he had become involved) discredited in France. (See Attachment to OWIA 43,272). The upshot was that S/1 was considered by many who knew him in Paris to be a KUBARK agent who had informed on his communist "friend" to the French police. From that time to the present the KUBARK tag has stuck in certain circles, though STEBONY/1 feels those who really know him, and those important revolutionaries and communists whom he knows and who are his potential targets as a KUBARK agent, have largely discounted the possibility that this could be so. There is no denying the fact, however, that this denunciation is a handicap. It has been used fairly effectively by his last employer, IDEN A, to burn him in a number of places where he was probably previously unknown. Certainly the publication of the denunciation in IDEN C did not raise his stature in some quarters. LOND 7620 indicates S/1's enemies have little desire to let sleeping dogs lie.

34. Furthermore, IDEN A seems at this moment to hold as great a grudge against S/1 as S/1 holds against him, and IDEN A may still have better connections in the national liberation movement than S/1. This is especially so in view of the 19-20 June 1965 downfall of the Ben Bella regime in Algeria. IDEN A was not a Ben Bella man, and his fortunes declined sharply in inverse proportion to the rise of Ben Bella's. IDEN A's closest link to Algeria's power elite has long been Rabah Bitat, according to S/1. In the papers of 22 June we read that, in a "startling development," former Vice-President Mohammed Bitat flew into Algiers from exile in France and said he was ready to "assume his responsibilities." We presume that IDEN A will seek to move quickly to derive personal advantage from this sudden change in Algeria. As if operating in the Algerian security climate were not hazardous enough, S/1 may well have to contend with a vendetta mounted by IDEN A.

35. [illegible]/1's family situation presents some cause for concern, also. As noted in the discussion on motivation, he has been receiving funds since January with only GKOFFRA to give as a source. His wife, who is a conscientious leftist, is presently suspicious of his activities, he says, largely because he received a phone call from PBSWING London in January. He explained it was a PBPRIMER journalist passing through who wished to talk with him, to which she was supposed to have retorted: "Why should someone from PBPRIME be interested in you, and, moreover, why should you be interested in working for anything or anyone from a PBPRIME?" S/1 told RODIGAST that the backstopping effort initiated by LOND 8004 did not fully dispel her skepticism. S/1's reaction to the FLUTTER examination on the question of "what his wife thinks" suggests that the matter is not laid to rest.

36. S/1 seems to be most concerned that his wife not find out he is working for ODYOKE, let alone KUBARK, and we presume he has reason to feel she would probably say or do something, whether deliberate or not, that would compromise him in his present situation. We do not know the history of S/1's marriage, but we have received indications from him that lead us to believe he could not count on her discretion and loyalty in all circumstances. His relationship with his wife, therefore, must be watched with some care to insure that it does not comprise an undue hazard or that she does not become vulnerable in some way to forces inimical to his effectiveness in his work for KUBARK.

37. Aside from speculation about possible repercussions in this area of their marital relationship, there remains the question of cover for some $3,180 passed S/1 by KUBARK in the past six months. His wife has been in the journalism business long enough to know that virtually unemployed journalists are not usually given travel and salary advances merely for the asking, especially when their press credentials are largely notional or the nominal sponsor has yet to go into publication. Thus, we have reason to believe she has some rather nagging doubts as to the legitimacy of S/1's present cover job. This is implicit in Paragraph 5 of the attachment of OELA 43,272.

38. On 15 June S/1 told RODIGAST his wife told him on the phone that a letter to him from IDEN D warned him to be careful "as things might be 'hot' for him in Algeria." IDEN D had apparently heard of S/1's forthcoming trip from contacts in New York and Paris, and S/1 surmises this means news of his summer's travels must be rather common knowledge by now.

39. At TIFFANY's request S/1 let IDEN E know he was in Paris, and S/1 says that latter "came rushing around" to see him. S/1's report on this contact was passed to the Paris Station 17 June by LCPIPIT. In the report is S/1's assessment that IDEN E would probably be willing to talk to RODIGAST's "service." We shall discuss this case further with Paris Station, but in the meantime it should be noted for the record that as long as S/1 is said by many to be a KUBARK agent, it would not be unreasonable to assume that IDEN E might connect an approach by an ODYOKE representative with his recent conversations with S/1. Therefore, the possibility of a flap here should not be ignored.

40. As far as S/1's contacts with KUBARK, he knows no one by true name and his case officer will continue to use an alias in all future contacts. At the same time, there is the ever-present danger that he may some day come to know RODIGAST's true name because of the number of acquaintances they have in common in Paris. It was largely for this reason that RODIGAST will avoid holding future operational meetings with S/1 in Paris. RODIGAST has already reportedthe rather unsettling experience of having S/1 tell him: "I think I've seen you someplace before." RODIGAST says this is quite possible. Were S/1 ever to stay in Paris for a considerable length of time the chances are Not remote that RODIGAST's identity would be compromised to S/1.

TERMINATION:

41. The question of termination is not academic at this time, for explicit in the letter of agreement which S/1 signed is his termination on 1 September 1965 unless specific conditions are met. It is doubtful that KUBARK will indeed terminate S/1 on that date unless such action is made imperative for reasons of security or of gross malfeasance on his part.

42. In the event of the termination of S/1 we foresee at this time no great cause for concern about possible repercussions against KUBARK personnel or installations. In addition to the use of aliases, RODICAST's meetings with him will be in third countries, and S/1 has not been passed classified information. He does keep in his possession materials for the use of S/W System #64. He received training in the use of these materials (and underwent his LCFLUTTER) 2 in the apartment of two LCPIPIT contract personnel. This apartment, an LCPIPIT safehouse, was used only once previously for a clandestine meeting, and it will not be used again for at least two months.

43. Should it prove necessary to terminate S/1 the greatest danger which we can anticipate at this time grows out of his considerable skill as a writer and the possibility that this skill might be used to attack KUBARK or ODYOKE in some way, perhaps from the forum of the national liberation movement propaganda machinery which he has now forsaken. His knowledge of our operations and personnel has been kept to a minimum. Hence the danger of his pen speaking with great force or effectiveness is, we believe, not great and a problem which, though we must anticipate it, we believe to be remote.

44. KUBARK OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS:

44. All concerned would agree that a KUBARK agent who is unable to service KUBARK operational requirements would not be worth his keep. At the same time, it would be presumptious to expect that in a situation where the agent is being handled at arm's length and under such disadvantages in time and distance as in S/1's case, KUBARK's operational requirements could be regularly and, if necessary, speedily measured against the agent's capabilities and specific requirements levied on the agent.

45. So far in KUBARK's relationship with S/1 we have outlined a general target area for him, levied the requirement that he prove to KUBARK he can effectively penetrate that target area and operate in place, and levied subsidiary KUTUBE requirements for him to service as a by-product of his basic operational task. What we have assigned, in effect, is a short term operational mission upon which longer term operations might be based.

46. There is evidence in the reams of "testimony" KUBARK has taken from S/1 that he is a man who likes to operate, act, produce. There is also evidence that he, like any other human, consciously seeks approval and recognition of his work. The question to be posed is: Has KUBARK at this time, or will it have on 1 September 1965, an assignment for S/1 in which he can find satisfaction in producing a marketable product and find that approval and recognition which he requires? We must be more specific with him than to say: "Go out to Djakarta and see what you can dig up. We'll meet you again in two months for discussions." Rather, it would be well at this stage to review with the various area divisions those geographic areas in which S/1's talents could be fully exploited (Chile with FUSES?, Venezuela as an FALN penetration?, Djakarta as an AAJA staffer?, Ghana as a BAA writer?, Tanzania as a Government Radio editor?, etc., etc.) and to have a definite assignment for S/1 in hand at the moment we negotiate the extension of his contract.

47. Certainly the sudden change of leadership in Algeria can be expected to affect the national liberation movement and personalities in that movement who have drawn succor from the Ben Bella regime. As noted in the section on security, it is reasonable to assume that S/1 will be in a less

than fortuitous position if his efforts to reassert himself on the national liberation movement stage are to meet with brickbats from IDEN A from a front row seat. ALGI 6171 and PARI 1958 tend to support the estimate that S/1's friends in the Ministry of Information may now be gone, while IDEN A's Algerian friends may soon be in positions of power. While it is still too early to assume that such a situation will arise, it is not too soon to assess the possible damage this could do S/1 in the general target area so far assigned him and to watch closely for signs that he may truly be burned beyond operational usefulness to KUBARK. We would hope this should not come to pass, but we cannot ignore the possibility.

48. In the event, then, that the next two month's activities compromise S/1's credentials in the national liberation movement, where would we go from there? One suggestion would be a TDY to ZRMETAL where his brain might be picked for operational leads and KUTUBE, KUDESK, and KUWOLF information. He could also be urged to write out and edit a number of exposés on fraud, deception, and general double-dealing in the national revolution movement and in certain communist circles. He might find a job with IDEN B who may well need a new crutch if S/1's reports of his diminishing influence are to be given credence. In short, steps ought to be taken now to define the alternatives awaiting S/1 as of 1 September 1965.

Harvey G. FABRICH

DISPATCH

	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET/[redacted]	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO.: OELA-43,458
TO: Chief, KUDESK		HEADQUARTERS FILE NO.: 201-
INFO: Chief, LCPIPIT; Chief, WE; Chief, AF		
FROM: Chief of Station, London		DATE: 25 June 1965
SUBJECT: KUDESK STEBONY 6 STEBONY-Related BAIRN Items		RE: "43-3" — (CHECK "X" ONE) MARKED FOR INDEXING X NO INDEXING REQUIRED INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY
ACTION REQUIRED		
REFERENCE(S)		

1. Attached are selected extracts from BAIRN reports. BAIRN is a very sensitive SMOTH operation, and the items should be treated accordingly.

2. Marc SCHLEIFFER (misspelled in BAIRN) is of interest. Pablo is Pablo FERNANDEZ, Cultural Attache at the Cuban Embassy in London. Other items should be self-explanatory. On page 3 of the attachment, "integration", where underlined, should read "segregation."

3. As with these items, London will try to bring to Headquarters (and other addressees') attention STEBONY-related items that we notice. On the other hand, we do not require to be info'ed on all STEBONY traffic in the future. We would like to see copies of all of his intelligence reporting, whether for passage to the SMOOTHERS or not. On that topic, we would like to recommend that a liberal policy be followed in determining what of his stuff to pass to liaison here. We will be glad to review his reporting for passage, if there is doubt about whether to pass it. We would also like to see any materials relating to him that may have a bearing on London Station operations, relating principally to the U.K., or relating to any of our liaison services here, of course.

George H. KATZENBACH

Attachment:
Herewith

Distribution:
2-Chief, KUDESK w/att h/w
2-Chief, LCPIPIT w/att h/w
3-Chief, WE w/att h/w
2-Chief, AF w/att h/w

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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JUN 1965

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FORM 10-57 53 (40) USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORMS 51-28, 51-28A AND 51-29 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE.

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET/[redacted]

CONTINUED

PAGE NO. 1

14-00000

TO: Chief, KUDESK
FROM: Chief of Station, London
Attachment to OELA-43,458
25 June 1965

31 May 1965 17.10 hours: Mark SCHWEIFFER (or SCHWEISSER ph) calls Pablo, tells him he arrived in LONDON two hours ago. (Note : he speaks English with a U.S.A. accent) Pablo says he had been talking about Mark last Saturday with Richard GIBSON, who Mark had thought to be living in Switzerland. Pablo says Richard has lived in LONDON for a year. Mark is now married, his wife and two children are with him. Pablo says that Roberto Yepe and his wife Galina are also in LONDON at the Embassy. Mark is in a hotel near the British Museum. Will come to the Embassy at once. Farewells.

17.15 hours: Roberto Yepe calls Galina at home, tells her Mark is in LONDON. Both overjoyed. They arrange to meet. Yepe does not know yet what he is doing here or how long he will be staying.

18.30 hours: Present: Pablo and Mark SCHW... ...FER (pres.). Voices very indistinct.

Pablo and Mark appear to be talking about mutual acquaintances, who are mostly poets and authors. Pablo goes out.

Yepe comes in and greets the visitor; he says that his wife Galina would like to see Mark this evening. Yepe explains about his transfer from Glasgow to London; he then asks Mark when he is going to Nigeria (?Algeria). Mark appears to say that he will not be going until February next year, after he has been to the States; after that he would like to settle down in Africa, in Zanzibar, or in (?Tanzania) - he does not know.

Yepe asks where he can find Dennis PHOMBEAH: Mark says that he is in the Tanzanian High Commission at 43 Hertford St. and that Yepe can mention his name. Yepe goes out (pres. to telephone Dennis) and does not return.

10.00 hours: Richard GIBSON (ph, speaks English with U.S.A. accent) calls Pablo in some excitement to say that SCHWEIFFER (ph) "is arriving today". Pablo says he already knows, had seen him yesterday (see 31st May above) and had given him Richard's telephone number. Richard asks for Mark's address. Pablo checks with Yepe, who was taken by Mark SCHWEFFER to the latter's hotel, but does not remember the name or address. Richard remarks that he knows Mark's plan. He is on his way

/ to . . . . .

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1st June, Cont.

to Africa, is going to ALGIERS and wants to stay. Is going to Tanzania if he can. Had planned to leave LONDON today, but is staying over. Pablo replies, to see Richard and someone else. Richard thinks this is Dennis POMBEY (ph) to whom Mark had written from NEW YORK. Richard is ready to find accommodation for Mark and family while they are in LONDON, as Mark has little money. Richard is going out now until 16.00 hours when he will return to PRImrose 8775. Then he is due to go out again to the Tunisian Embassy. Asks Pablo to tell Mark that he (Richard) is going to Algeria, that he wants to see Mark, that there are possibly things that they can do together, that he or Mark could take the job offered by Dennis (POMBEY) in DAR-ES-SALAAM. Pablo says Mark is staying here to see Richard and presumably Dennis, then going to PARIS for five days, then on to Algeria. Richard says Mark can call him at home between 12.30 and 13.30 hours or after 16.00 hours.

Richard gives Pablo greetings from PETITA (or BETITA, ph) who says she is sending Richard and Pablo a new magazine called "Street" to be shared. She is working for the "Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee", Sue WRIGHT's (ph) group, and has "given up her job at the Nation". Pablo will send her some collaboration for the magazine. Farewells.

1 June (cont'd) 13.55 hours: Mark SCHLEIFFER (ph) calls Pablo (out). Then asks for Yepe. Tells Yepe that they (Mark and family) had slept late and are checking out of the hotel now. Confirms with Yepe that the latter's wife Galina is at home. Is going to telephone her. Yepe confirms Mark's having Galina's number, then remarks that one of the two people Mark had wanted to contact - GIBSON - had rung the Embassy. Mark reminds Yepe of their having looked up together the telephone numbers of the Tanzanian Mission. Mark has two numbers, one GRO number and one FLA number (Note: the FLA number is FLA 2327, home number of Dennis PHOMBEAH, Administrative Attache. Mark had earlier said he had two people in LONDON to contact, Richard GIBSON and Dennis.) He asks Yepe which is the office number. Yepe checks then says it is GRO 8951. Mark notes the Mission's address. Farewells.

1st June, Cont.

17.10 hours: Mark SCHLEIFFER calls from the Embassy to Yepe's flat, speaks to Yepe's wife, Galina, says he, "Maria and the children" will spend the night with the Yepes. His wife and children are at present in Pablo's flat (Note: Both flats are in Park West).

17.30 hours: Mark SCHLEIFFER called at Embassy by Richard GIBSON, who suggests their sharing a flat in ALGIERS. Both need to brush up their French before "the others pour in" to ALGIERS. Mark agrees to go to Richard's flat, 30 Stockleigh Hall, Prince Albert Road, to discuss various points. Mark mentions that his wife is an "Afro-American". Richard says that integration is much worse here than in the U.S.A.

2nd June

11.00 hours: Yepe calls the C.F.T.E., speaks to telex room, asks whether they can send a telex to Yepe's brother in Rumania. He explains that his (Yepe's) brother is Cuban Ambassador to Rumania and is due to go to Cuba today or tomorrow. He wants first to establish whether his brother is still in Rumania. If he is, Roberto wants the following message passed: "If you see Leo HUBERMAN in Cuba, please pass this message to him - 'If you come to LONDON, Dennis PHOMBEAH is anxious to see you'. (Signed) Roberto Yepe".

3 June

12.30 hours: Pablo calls Cuban Embassy (believed PARIS) (Obtained by direct dalling.) Speaks to Esther, then asks for Paco, who mentions that Guillermo has to return to Cuba, because his daughter has a cerebral haemorrhage. Pablo says he and Manuja are also "going to return". Paco asks "But they haven't called you?" Pablo replies "No". Gives no further explanation, but will write to Paco. Mentions that Mark SCHLEIFFER is coming to PARIS and will telephone Paco. Guillermo, Paco remarks, has already caught his plane to PRAGUE. Miriam is alone. Guillermo had been in touch with FRANQUI, and ROA had agreed to his going. This leaves the Commercial Attache.

14-00000

SECRET

24 JUN 1965

TO: Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Attention: Mr. S. J. Papich

FROM: Deputy Directory for Plans

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation Malcolm X - Carlos Moore and Sandy Bethune. (Afro-American Unity Group in Paris)

1. Forwarded herewith as Attachment is a Xerox copy of a photostat of a transcript of a telephone conversation between Carlos Moore (and his friend Sandy Bethune) and the late Malcolm X, which took place 8 or 9 February 1965. SUGAR obtained this transcript on 4 June from the editor of the West Indian Gazette, (fnu) Manchanda. SUGAR believes that Manchanda got the photostat from the Ghana High Commission office in London. He further believes that the Afro-American unity group in Paris (among whom there is only one member with U. S. citizenship: the American Negro photographer, John Taylor) probably supplied the transcript to the Ghana officials as a means of building their credentials as a bona fide revolutionary organization, perhaps one entitled to receive financial support.

2. SUGAR gave the current (June 1965) address of Jamaican/Cuban Carlos Moore as: c/o Pedro Filipe, 168 Rue Grenelle, Paris 7e, France. SUGAR said that Filipe is a Cuban national.

CSCI-316/02636-65

Attachment: 1

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CI/ICG-AGoodrich:lac
22 June 1965

SECRET

201-759145

Distribution:
Orig. & 1 - Addresee
1 - C/CI
1 - CI/L
1 - CI/RA
1 - RID
1 - CI/ICG/AMS

14-00000

INDEX: ☐ YES ☐ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO. 201-306052
X-REF TO FILE NO.
FILE RID ☒ RET. TO BRANCH ☐
DESTROY ☐ SIG.

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE TOTAL COPIES 37

SECRET

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

FROM
LCPIPIT (PARIS)

ACTION
AF 7 ☒ RID COPY

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBED UNIT AF/OF TIME 0735 BY

INFO
FILE, VR, CA 2, CA/O 4, WH 7, WE 6, OF, CI, ADDP, FE 6

S
E C R E T 231117Z

PRIORITY DIR INFO PRIORITY BUEN CITE PALP 4115 CILIBERTI ACTING

ZIBET QRPREY STEBONY KUDESK QKFIND SGFLAG

23 Jun 65 IN 96790

REF A DIR 20944
B DIR 21708
C PALP 3983 (NOT SENT BUEN) (IN 83309)

1. REQUEST DIR RELAY BUEN SUBSTANCE REF C, ESPECIALLY DEADLINES FOR DEPOSITS IN SWISS ACCOUNT.

2. BUEN PLS ADVISE WHEN TRANSFERS EFFECTED.

3. NO INDEX

S E C R E T

CFN

SECRET

201-306052
23 June 65

14-00000

file [illegible] ops

21 June 65

Talked to Cy Goodrich this morning about STEBONY. He feels that he is on the level with us, that he is legitimately disenchanted with the far left, that he sees himself as a loyal American, that KATZENBACH was incorrect in saying that STEBONY would find it morally repugnant to act as a political action agent but would willingly serve as an FI collection asset (which doesn't make a whole lot of sense.) STEBONY was not in the least reluctant to take the LCFLUTTER, passed it apparently clean. The cover is admittedly a bit flimsey, but is supplemented by a connection with Tunisian L'Action for which he will do some layout work and writing. Cy believes that ST understands perhaps better than he did the need for cover and attribution of income. Contract provides for $500 a month plus $100 non-accountable ops expenses plus $10 a day while in Algiers, plus $20 a day while in travel status, 1 June through 31 August, renewable for a two year period if mutually desirable and satisfactory, with 30 day termination clause. We have told JAGUAR of our recruitment of STEBONY - Cy does not believe that they are in direct touch with him, but that they are in contact with friends of his, particularly one MARCHANT? or some such name. I asked Cy what STEBONY had been asked to do for us in Algiers, and he replied " to work himself into a position of access - to get information on factions and all developments in the conferences which have not been publicized." I asked if he had been given any requirements which dealt with strictly Algerian matters and he said No, that Rodigast had been told that we would send further requirements for the meeting tentatively scheduled with STEBONY in Rome or Tangier around 16 June.

I talked to Bob Wiley, who will draw up a list of requirements to send RODIGAST.

Cy Goodrich and I agreed that I would open ops files on STEBONY, even though we have no project yet, and he will give me the contents of his soft file to include in it. He is also having the 201 file tidied up by RI and will have it charged to AF/1

NP

14-00000

SECRET

Chief KUWOLF X

Chief, KUDESK; Chief of Station, Brussels; Chief, WE

Chief of Station, Paris/LCPIPIT
DYVORIC/Operational
STEBONY/CRPREY/Operational Contact with Iden A

201

1. For the Information of COS, Brussels: KUDESK and KUWOLF are jointly engaged in the operational exploitation of the peculiar talents and contacts of a newly-acquired asset, STEBONY/1 (Iden B). STEBONY/1 has had a rather turbulent career as a leftist revolutionary agitator and propagandist over the past several years during which time he came to know (and be known by) a number of significant personalities in the pro-Chinese factions of several European Communist Parties. Among these personalities is Iden A. STEBONY/1 has been denounced within these same circles as a KUBARK agent for some time, though until January of this year KUBARK was not in contact with him. It was only early June of this year that he actually signed a letter of agreement with an "ODYOKE Service". Currently STEBONY/1 is in Algeria seeking to re-establish himself in revolutionary circles as a prelude to a long-term penetration operation (at KUBARK's behest) targeted against the revolutionary cadres of Africa, Asia and Latin America which are apparently being given increasingly direct support by Peking.

2. One of STEBONY/1's bona fides in revolutionary circles is his acquaintance with Iden A who has told him that, personally, he does not share the doubts spread about STEBONY/1 because, as Iden A puts it, STEBONY/1's primary accuser not only charges he is a KUBARK agent but also an Iden A agent, which Iden A of course knew not to be the case. However, STEBONY/1 is actually in the process of seeking to ingratiate himself with Iden A and of winning his confidence to such an extent that their personal relationship might serve as STEBONY/1's credentials for some time to come. At present the relationship shows signs of being off to a good start. STEBONY/1 visited Iden A in Brussels on 9 June 1965 with the intention of getting himself accredited as a correspondent of Iden A's newspaper, Iden C. Iden A told him that, in fact, Iden C was sending Iden D to Algiers to cover the summers activities there. Iden A then added that Iden D would get in touch with STEBONY/1 in Algiers (c/o Iden E) so that STEBONY/1 could "introduce him around". STEBONY/1 considers this a fortuitous circumstance in that

Attachments:
Identity List usc
Book usc

-continued-

Distribution:
3 - Chief, KUWOLF w/atts usc
✓2 - Chief, KUDESK w/att 1
2 - COS, Brussels w/att 1
2 - Chief, WE w/att 1

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

OFLA-2541

18 June 1965

JUN 22 1965

SECRET

200-126-19/3

he can exploit Iden D as a 'walking credential' in Algiers a unique way to suggest he himself is one of Iden A's 'boys'. It should be noted on the other hand, that this situation provides Iden A a unique means of monitoring STEBONY/1's activities and contacts

3. Of priority interest at this moment, however, is the fact that Iden A has expressed to STEBONY/1 his dissatisfaction with the progress to date in getting his book (Iden F) published in English. Iden A claims that an Australian is supposed to be working on a translation but that he has heard nothing from him in over six months. STEBONY/1 then told Iden A that he himself could do the translation job with the aid of friends but that he would have to spend some time with Iden A to work over fine points and to write together a new chapter updating the book. In this way STEBONY/1 feels he could cement his personal relationship with Iden A

4. There are obviously operational and Station policy questions that should be considered in this context. First of all, our sole reporter on the STEBONY/1-Iden A relationship is STEBONY/1 himself. Is he really seeking to set up a meaningful operational gambit to be exploited by KUBARK, or is he seeking to regain status among his former peers? We tend to believe the former on the basis of the results of STEBONY/1's LCFLUTTER examination and his long conversations with his deep cover case officer. Secondly, would the damage to the PBPRIME national interest inherent in the publication of Iden A's book in English outweigh the operational gain to be made by putting STEBONY/1 in Iden A's confidence. STEBONY/1 argues that, on the contrary, the publication of the book in English could hurt no one except possibly Iden A himself, because STEBONY/1 claims the book is a tiresome polemic against one small communist group by another small communist group. LCPIPIT has no intention of recommending that KUBARK help get the book in print in any case for that would be Iden A's own problem. Moreover, if STEBONY/1 did not undertake the translating job, the Australian would probably come through before too long anyway.

5. We are sure that addressees can see in this situation the seeds of a useful operational contact with Iden A who, according to various reports STEBONY/1 is receiving from other of his contacts in the pro-Chinese factions of the European Communist Parties, is starting to lose his grip on his own organization

6. In any event, unless advised to the contrary, we intend to encourage STEBONY/1 to continue developing his relationship with Iden A, especially as regards translation of the book. We are forwarding to Headquarters (usc) a copy of the book and request that the appropriate office in KUCHAP be approached immediately and asked to provide, on a priority basis, an English-language translation which we can pass to STEBONY/1. He could then rework this translation somewhat and involve his wife in the editing of it, presenting the finished product to Iden A as a family effort. Of particular importance from a critical point of view is that translations of quotations from non-francophone sources (Marx and Lenin, for example) should be consistent with the 'official' English-language version of the quotations.

7. The time element involved is this: KUWOLF Career Agent Rufus P BODIGART will be meeting STEBONY/1 in Rome on or about 15 July. At that time he should have some firm word from KUBARK on the status of the translation effort. In matter of fact, of course, the ideal situation would be to have the translation in hand at that time, though we cannot gauge from here whether that is within the realm of possibility. In any case BODIGART would have to have the translation definitely in hand the first week of August when he will be leaving Paris for his second one meeting with STEBONY/1

8. Paris/LCPIPIT would welcome advice and guidance from addressees on this venture and would be happy to clarify further any points which may have been raised in this dispatch but not fully answered

Harvey G. FABRICK

14-00000

SECRET

Attachment to OFLA 2541
Under Separate Cover

Identity A - Jacques Grippa

Identity B - Richard T. Gibson, formerly of Fair Play for Cuba Committee and former editor of English edition Révolution Africaine

Identity C - La Voix du Peuple

Identity D - Arnold Hauwaert

Identity E - Georges Arnaud

Identity F - Marxisme-Léninisme ou Revisionnisme?

SECRET

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING		
PRO-POSED	ACTION	ACCOM-PLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: AF
Chief, KUDESK

INFO: Chief, LCPIPIT; Chief, KUWOLF; Chief, WE; Chief of Station, Algiers CHIEF KUDESK

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: STEBONY
JAGUAR Report on STEBONY/1

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Ref: LOND 8101

1. Following is the full text of the JAGUAR letter, a part of which was transmitted under ref:

"We have received the following two items of intelligence about S/1:

1. Some time in May this year, S/1 said that he would be going to Tunisia on 15th June to work on the staff of the paper "L'Action."

2. After his quarrel with Jacques VERGES in 1964, S/1 received £200 as "personal financial assistance" from Jacques GRIPPA, the leader of the pro-Chinese Communist faction in Belgium. Nils ANDERSSON also gave him financial help.

Our sources were not able to say when the financial assistance was given to S/1 but presumably that from GRIPPA was made available some time between July and November last year."

2. S/1 reported to Station in May that he had had an offer of a job on L'Action, but there was no intention of his accepting it.

3. London has some doubts about whether S/1 in fact received this much money from GRIPPA. We suspect that he has told people this to enhance his stature as a "Chinese agent"; we still wonder, though, what funds he may have been covering this way, since we had not contacted him as of the time in question. Perhaps, as a result of ref, LCPIPIT may shed some light on this point.

George H. KATZENBACH

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Distribution:
2-Chief, KUDESK
2-Chief, LCPIPIT
2-Chief, KUWOLF
3-Chief, WE
2-Chief, AF
2-COS, Algiers - Cut Prod

CS COPY

201-306052

DATE TYPED	DATE DISPATCHED
17 June 1965	22 JUN 1965

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-43,382

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

SECRET

Chief of Station, Rome, Chief KUWOLF X

Chief, KUDESK; Chief, WE (Attention: WE/4)

Chief of Station, Paris/LCPIPIT PRIORITY

DTDORIC/Operational

QRPREY/STYBONY/1 Contact in Rome.

1. KUWOLF Career Agent Rufus P. RODIGAST is now the deep cover case officer for STYBONY/1 a newly-acquired potential penetration asset targeted on the pro-Chicom revolutionary movements of Africa Asia and Latin America. On or about 15 July 1965 STYBONY/1 will proceed from his current base of operations (Algiers) to meet with RODIGAST in Rome per Iden A

2. While in Rome STYBONY/1 plans to stay with Iden B Moreover Iden B's apartment may be used as a meeting site for RODIGAST and STYBONY/1 when Iden B is at work. In view of this we request Station and Headquarters traces (KUDASK and ODENVY only) on Iden B.

3. While in Rome RODIGAST will more than likely require Station support in the nature of pickup and pouching facilities for documents cash travel advances for STYBONY/1 (which are to be T/A'd to Headquarters, charge YOXITCH) and cable commo facilities should the need arise. RODIGAST is known to Rome Station Officer Lowell F AISTON and perhaps others in the Station. RODIGAST is also known to and knows the witting personnel in PEGREGALE.

4. We would appreciate hearing from Rome Station at your earliest convenience concerning your capability to render the type of support noted above. RODIGAST would plan to make contact with the Station through PEGREGALE unless the Station should desire an alternate contact plan

Harvey G FAHRIGE

Attachments:
Identity List (See PALP 4070) TO: ROME + ~~[illegible]~~ DIR

Distribution:
3 - COS Rome
✓2 - Chief KUWOLF
2 - Chief, KUDESK
2 - Chief, WE

CS COPY

JUN 17 1965

201-306052

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

OPLA-2538 17 June 1965

SECRET 200-126-73/3

14-00000

file STEBONY/1
201-306052

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET/KAPOK

PROCESSING

PROPOSED	ACTION	ACCOMPLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: Chief, KUDESK

INFO.: Chief, LCPIPIT; Chief, WE; Chief, KUWOLF

FROM: Chief of Station, London R/F

SUBJECT: KUDESK STEBONY SMOTH
BAIRN Report

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

1. Attached is a copy of an item culled from a report of BAIRN (a sensitive SMOTHop) reflecting contact between Mrs. Sarah GIBSON and Pablo FERNANDEZ, the Cultural Officer at the Cuban Embassy. There is nothing particularly new or startling here, and it is forwarded for inclusion in the records.

2. Maruja is Pablo's wife; Sarah is, of course, the wife of Richard GIBSON.

George H. KATZENBACH

Attachments
Herewith

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Distribution:
~~2~~-Chief, KUDESK w/att h/w
2-Chief, LCPIPIT w/att h/w
3-Chief, WE w/att h/w
2-Chief, KUWOLF w/att h/w

201-306052

1att

CS COPY

DATE TYPED: 16 June 1965

DATE DISPATCHED: 17 JUN 1965

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-43,353

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET/KAPOK

14-00000

TO: Chief, KUDESK
FROM: Chief of Station, London
Attachment to OELA-43,353
16 June 1965

26th May, Cont.
16.40 hours: Mrs. Sarah GIBSON (ph), of the Press Department, Tunisian Embassy, calls Cuban Embassy, explains to Marga that she wants Pablo to send, as previously discussed, some copies of "Revolucion Pueblo y Cultura" and "Lunes de Revolucion", either just on temporary loan, or if some copies can be spared, for retention by the Tunisian Embassy. The Press Secretary in the Tunisian Embassy is on the point of leaving to go back to TUNIS (going on 28th May) and before doing so, he very much wants to have a look at those papers. Margo promises to arrange this matter with Pablo, for delivery of copies to the Press Department, Tunisian Embassy, 29 Prince's Gate. Sarah GIBSON asks for delivery today if possible, if not, the following morning.

16.50 hours: Pablo calls Mrs GIBSON at KEN 4133 on Christian name terms, asks how her husband, Dick, and the children are, confirms that he will let her have some copies of "Ruega" (ph) given to him by a Cuban in LONDON, also "Pueblo y Cultura", but has no copies of "Revolucion". Confirms he will come to Sarah's house on Saturday afternoon (29th May) with Maruja and the children if it is fine, but he will come anyhow, as he wants to have a talk with Sarah. The GIBSON's home number is PRI 8778. Sarah remarks that the Tunisian Press Secretary is being sent back to Tunisia to take charge of a newspaper, and he has been most impressed by the Cuban layout in their publications. He needs the copies to give him ideas for his own work, and Sarah wants the influence to be Cuban.

Jeune Afrique?

att #1 to OELA-43353 CS COPY 201-306052

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING

PROPOSED	ACTION	ACCOMPLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: Chief, KUDESK

INFO: Chief, LCPIPIT; Chief, WE; Chief of Station, Algiers; Chief, AF

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: KUDESK STEBONY
Processed STEBONY/1 De-Briefing Material

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

1. Transmitted herewith are copies (one for KUDESK, one for LCPIPIT) of the processed material resulting from the initial series of debriefings of STEBONY/1. Again London Station is indebted to Roberta L. HORRELL for her superb work in preparing this excellent study.

2. We have made most of this material available to JAGUAR. The sections headed "Interest of Foreign Communist and Leftist Groups in the American Negro Problem," "The Robert Williams Case," "Black Nationalism," and "The American Negro" were not passed to JAGUAR.

3. We are retaining one copy of the entire study, which we are making available for review by ODENVY/London, who have expressed interest in this material. We trust that ODENVY Headquarters will be appropriately advised of the contents of these papers.

4. We see no reason for London Station to retain this copy in the files, and propose to destroy it unless Headquarters asks us to send it on to some other addressee. Similarly, we plan to destroy our copy of the rough transcript of the debriefing (previously forwarded under OELA 42,706, 9 March 1965) unless Headquarters would like us to send it on. In either case, let us know of your wishes regarding these items by, say, 15 July. In the absence of any instructions by that time, we will destroy them.

George H. KATZENBACH

Attachment:
Herewith

Distribution:
2-Chief, KUDESK w/att h/w
2-Chief, LCPIPIT w/att h/w
3-Chief, WE w/o att
2-COS, Algiers, w/o att
2-Chief, AF w/o att

GROUP 1 Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

201-306052

CS COPY IN 200-124-156/4

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DATE TYPED: 15 June 1965

DATE DISPATCHED: 17 JUN 1965

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-43,329

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

14-00000

INDEX: ☐ YES ☒ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO. 201-306052
X-REF TO FILE NO.
FILE RID ☒ RET. TO BRANCH ☐
DESTROY ☐ SIG.

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE
TOTAL COPIES 37

15 SECRET

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

FROM
[illegible]

ACTION
[illegible]

☒ RID COPY

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☒ TYPED

UNIT AF TIME [illegible]

INFO
FILE, VR, ADDP, [illegible]

SECRET [illegible]

PRIORITY DIR INFO BERN LOND CITE [illegible] 4053

ZIBET QRPREY STEBONY KUDESK QKFIND

REF A PALP 3983 (IN83509)

B BERN 5384 (IN83502)

1. IN VIEW REF B, REQUEST HQS EXPLORE WITH DIEARN CAPABILITY EFFECT SUGGESTED EXTERNAL BANK TRANSFER UNDER CONDITIONS SPECIFIED REF A. BRUSSELS MIGHT BE LOGICAL SOURCE IF CAPABILITY EXISTS.

2. NO INDEX.

SECRET

SECRET

4 SUGGESTED EXTERNAL BANK TRANSFER.

15 JUN 65 [illegible] 772

201-306052

15 Jun 65

14-00000

INDEX: ☐ YES ☐ NO

CLASSIFY TO FILE NO.

X-REF TO FILE NO.

FILE RID ☐ RET. TO BRANCH ☐

DESTROY ☐ SIG.

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE TOTAL COPIES 42

201-3

SECRET

REPRODUCTION PROHIB

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

FROM: PARIS (LCPIPIT)

ACTION: WE 8 ☒ RID COPY

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBED

UNIT TIME BY

INFO: FILE, VR, CA 2, CA/O 4, AF 6, CI, CI/OPS, CI/IC 2, CI/OA, FI, TSD 6, FE 6, RI/AN

S E C R E T 151530Z

DIR INFO ALGI LOND PARI CITE PALP 4056

KUDESK STEBONY GRPREY

15 JUN 65 IN 90665

REF A. LOND 7991 (IN 81357)

B. LOND 7995 (IN 81479)

C. DIR 15660

D. FRAN 5087 (IN 82159)

ABSTRACT [redacted]

1. STEBONY/1 (S) MET RODIGAST (R) 12 JUNE PARI AS PLANNED AND PROCEEDED SAFEHOUSE WHERE R DEBRIEFED S AND TAUGHT HIM S/2 SYSTEM 64.

2. IN 13 JUNE LCFLUTTER S ANSWERED NEGATIVE TO FOLLOWING KEY QUESTIONS WITH NO INDICATION DECEPTION:

A. HAS ANYONE EVER APPROACHED YOU TO SERVE NON-PBPRIME IS?

B. HAVE YOU EVER SERVED ANY NON-PBPRIME IS IN ANY CAPACITY?

C. ARE YOU NOW A PAID AGENT OF ANY FOREIGN GOVERNMENT?

D. DOES YOUR WIFE KNOW YOU HAVE A CONNECTION WITH AN ODYOKE SERVICE?

E. HAVE YOU TOLD ANYONE ABOUT YOUR CONTACTS OR YOUR AGREEMENT TO COOPERATE WITH AN ODYOKE ORGANIZATION?

F. ARE YOU UNDER OBLIGATION TO ANYONE TO REPAY ANY DEBTS

SECRET

RI COPY

201-306052

SECRET

FULN 90665 Page 2
RID/MIS

OR FAVORS? (PER LOND 8131) (IN 87361)

Jun 21 11 PM '65

G. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT WOULD MAKE YOU A TARGET FOR BLACKMAIL? (PROBE TO SEE IF REVOLUTION ASSOCIATES HAVE ANY HANDLE)

H. HAS ANYONE EVER ATTEMPTED TO BLACKMAIL YOU?

I. HAVE YOU EVER ATTEMPTED TO BLACKMAIL ANYONE?

J. HAVE YOU DELIBERATELY GIVEN US ANY FALSE OR FABRICATED INFO IN TALKS WE HAVE HAD WITH YOU?

3. 14 JUNE R BRIEFED S RE BANDUNG II MHNINCE AAJA, ETC, PASSED S ONE S/W SYSTEM 64 CARBON, ADVANCED 733 DOLLARS CASH TOWARD TRAVEL AND PER DIEM.

4. S ETA ALGI O/A 20 JUNE VIA SURFACE TRANSPORT FROM MOROCCO. S FUTURE CONTACTS WITH R SCHEDULED OUTSIDE ALGERIA. NO RPT NO STA CONTACT REQUESTED BUT WOULD APPRECIATE INFO HIS ALGI ACTIVITIES AS MAY BE ACQUIRED PASSIVELY BY STA STAFF PERSONNEL.

5. POUCHING COMPREHENSIVE WRAP-UP.

6. INDEX 201-336352.

* Suggested SW Carbon for STEBBINY be obtained from Paritech.

SECRET

CFN

SECRET

14-00000

DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO: OELA-43,311
TO: Chief, KUDESK		HEADQUARTERS FILE NO.
INFO: Chief, WE; Chief, AF; Chief, KUWOLF; Chief, LCPIPIT; Chief of Station, Algiers		201-
FROM: Chief of Station, London		DATE: 11 June 1965
SUBJECT: STEBONY JAGUAR Report on STEBONY/1		RE: "43-3" — (CHECK "X" ONE) MARKED FOR INDEXING; XX NO INDEXING REQUIRED; INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY
ACTION REQUIRED		
REFERENCE(S)		

Following is the text of a JAGUAR letter, dated 2 June:

"According to a secret and reliable source, STEBONY/1 has stated that he is working for the Belgian newspaper 'La Voix du Peuple'. He will be leaving London shortly for the Continent and will later be going to Algiers. He has told his friends that his job with 'La Voix du Peuple' turned up in time to save him and his family from 'starvation'."

George H. KATZENBACH

Distribution:
2-Chief, KUDESK
3-Chief, WE
2-Chief, AF
2-Chief, KUWOLF
2-COS, Algiers - Out Pouch
2-Chief, LCPIPIT

CS COPY

201-306052

FORM 10-57 53 USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORMS

CLASSIFICATION SECRET

PAGE NO. 1

14-00000

DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO. OELA-43,308
TO: Chief, KUDESK		HEADQUARTERS FILE NO.
INFO: Chief, WE; Chief, LCPIPIT; (Attn: RODIGAST); Chief, AF; Chief of Station, Algiers		
FROM: Chief of Station, London		DATE: 10 June 1965
SUBJECT: KUDESK STEBONY JAGUAR JAGUAR Officer's Comment on STEBONY/1 and Wife		RE: "43" – (CHECK "X" ONE) MARKED FOR INDEXING XX NO INDEXING REQUIRED INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY
ACTION REQUIRED		

REFERENCES

1. In the course of an informal discussion on 8 June with the JAGUAR officer most familiar with the history of STEBONY/1 (and our relationship with him), the JAGUAR officer commented that he was frankly surprised at the volume of sexual activity of the African Communists and far-leftists. His first reference was to types such as Jeanne PYNOR, but he broadened the comment to include Rosalynde AINSLIE and others, and of course there were the recipients of these girls' affections as well – Africans (usually black) such as Kenyatta and Babu.

2. The JAGUAR officer then added that S/1's wife was also known to have shared her favors with other black men than S/1 – to such an extent, at any rate, that her promiscuity had come to JAGUAR's notice. (I mentioned that this must be some new news, since we had not heard of it before, but he indicated that this was old news, and apparently not of the type to be considered "derogatory.") The JAGUAR officer went on to say that S/1 himself has put in a certain amount of time in the beds of other white girls, and perhaps this is how he knows of the promiscuous propensities of some of them.

3. While S/1 has not particularly affected prudery in our talks, neither has he professed himself to be a great and universal lover.

George H. KATZENBACH

Distribution:
2-Chief, KUDESK
3-Chief, WE
2-COS, Algiers - Out Pouch
2-Chief, AF

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CS COPY

201-306052

FORM 1-57 53	USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORMS 51-28, 51-28A AND 51-29 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE.	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET	CONTINUED	PAGE NO. 1

14-00000

INDEX: ☐ YES ☐ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO.
X-REF TO FILE NO.
FILE RID ☐ RET. TO BRANCH ☐
DESTROY ☐ SIG.

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE TOTAL COPIES 30

3 SECRET

AF/1/CI

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

201

FROM LONDON

ACTION WE 8

☑ RID COPY

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBED

UNIT TIME BY

INFO FILE, VR, CA 2, CA/O 4, AF 6, CI, ADDP, CA 4, CI/OPS, CI/IC, CI/OA,

10 Jun 65 IN 87361

S
E C R E T 101531Z

PALP INFO DIR ALGI CITE LOND 8101

STEBONY KUDESK KUWOLF JAGUAR

1. JAGUAR REPORT STATES "AFTER HIS QUARREL WITH VERGES IN 1964, STEBONY/1 RECEIVED 200 POUNDS AS 'PERSONAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE' FROM JACQUES GRIPPA. NILS ANDERSSON ALSO GAVE HIM FINANCIAL HELP".

2. JAGUAR DO NOT KNOW WHEN GRIPPA FUNDS GIVEN TO S/1, BUT ASSUME BETWEEN JULY AND NOVEMBER 1964.

3. IT POSSIBLE, OF COURSE, ULTIMATE SOURCE JAGUAR INFO IS S/1. MIGHT BE USEFUL, NONTHELESS, GET S/1 COMMENTS.

S E C R E T

CFN

201

SECRET

unsolicited, or did we ask for leas?

2

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET/[redacted]

PROCESSING ACTION: XXX NO INDEXING REQUIRED; MARKED FOR INDEXING; ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING; MICROFILM

TO: Chief of Station, Paris (Attention: COVERDALE)

INFO: Chief, WE; Chief, LCPIPIT; Chief, KUDESK; Chief of Station, Madrid

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: STEBONY/Operational Data on Antonio LOPEZ Campille

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Ref: OFPA 79622, 19 May 1965 (not sent all addressees)

1. On 4 June STEBONY/1 provided the following information on the personality and living pattern of Subject which we hope will be helpful to COVERDALE in mounting an eventual recruitment approach.

   a. Subject is smarting with desire for revenge against those who have cut him off from all meaningful political activity and probably from a source of income as well. (NOTE: Subject told S/1 that currently GRIPPA is providing his PCB-ML with the equivalent of $1,000 per month.) He is particularly angry with [illegible], who owes him some money.

   b. An intellectual, Subject has never been particularly effective in the area of practical organisational politics. He is rather weak in the sense that in a conflict situation he tends to pull back. In other words he is not aggressive by nature. At the same time, S/1 felt certain that Subject's indignation and desire for revenge were deeply seated in his emotions and he would not be able to rationalise away these feelings.

   c. Subject is basically a friendly and courteous person.

   d. Subject speaks French and Spanish but no English. His wife, described by S/1 as a stronger personality than Subject, does speak English. She teaches school.

   e. Subject has mixed feelings towards GRIPPA, but uppermost is his desire to rehabilitate himself with the Belgian "gauleiter." It is thought that if someone telephoned Subject and made reference to "Jacques" or "a message from a friend in Belgium" Subject would most likely come out for a meeting.

   f. Subject has irregular working hours at the CNRS and it would be easy for him to leave the job for an hour or two without anyone becoming suspicious. He works on research projects and more or less sets his own hours.

   g. Asked if he thought Subject would be in a position to provide much information on the PCE Pro-ChiCom dissident groups, S/1 said that he thought Subject was well-informed and, if willing, would be

GROUP 1 Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CROSS REFERENCE TO:

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-43,294 COPY

DATE: 9 June 1965 201-306050

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET/[redacted]

HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-

able to provide a great deal of information despite his having been pushed aside from active and direct participation in recent months.

2. Based on the foregoing, the best ploy for getting at Subject might be a telephone call to his place of work with the caller using a cover pretext for meeting him alone and deferring all detailed questions to such a meeting on the grounds of not wanting to discuss these over the telephone. If this gets Subject out, then COVERDALE could apologize for the minor deception while explaining that it was required by reason of his not wanting to cause Subject embarassment or injury in the course of contacting him. Good hunting.

3. It may be possible for STEBCHY/1 to contact Subject during his visit to Paris 11 - 17 June. If COVERDALE would like to get a more current reading on Subject, please get in touch with Rufus F. RODIGAST, who will be meeting S/1 on 12 June.

Joseph S. TIFFANY

Distribution:
2-COS, Paris (Attn: COVERDALE)
3-Chief, WH
2-Chief, LCPIPIT
2-COS, Madrid
2-Chief, KUDESK

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION
SECRET
KAPOK

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XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO
Chief, KUDESK

INFO.
Chief, WE; Chief, FE; Chief, AF; Chief, KUWOLF; Chief, KURIOT; Chief, LCPIPIT

FROM
Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT
STEBONY KUDESK QRPREY
Asian-African Journalists' Association Correspondence

ACTION REQUIRED · REFERENCES

1. Transmitted as separate cover attachment are copies of correspondence from the AAJA to STEBONY/1. Among these materials is an original copy of one letter, which is forwarded for KURIOT's exemplar stockpile.

2. These materials were passed to TIFFANY by S/1.

3. London Station is not retaining copies of this material, nor do we anticipate passing any of it to JAGUAR.

George H. KATZENBACH

Attachment:
(USC)

Distribution:
2-Chief, KUDESK w/att (USC)
3-Chief, WE w/o att
2-Chief, FE w/o att
2-Chief, AF w/o att
2-Chief, KUWOLF w/o att
2-Chief, KURIOT w/att (USC)
2-Chief, LCPIPIT w/o att

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201-306052

CS COPY

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DATE TYPED
8 June 1965

DATE DISPATCHED

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER
OELA-43,273

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER
201-306052

CLASSIFICATION
SECRET
KAPOK

Asian-African Journalists' Association
(Persatuan Wartawan Asia-Afrika)

Sekretariat : Press House — Djakarta
Telp. 21/42

No.:

Djakarta, ~~April 3rd~~ 19 64

Dear Colleague,

Warmest greetings!

As you are aware the Secretariat at its Second Meeting held in Gadok, Bogor (Indonesia), from November 30th to December 1st 1963, decided, inter-alia, to name April 24th, the opening day of the first Asian-African Journalists' Conference, "THE ASIAN-AFRICAN JOURNALISTS' DAY".

You will readily agree that the naming of April 24th, as Asian-African Journalists' Day, is of immense importance to us Afro-Asian journalists.

The Secretariat call on all its member organizations and members to observe this Day by celebration and meetings; press statements, articles and write-ups etc. in the various Afro-Asian newspapers and mass media generally.

This day will also mark the first anniversary of our Association and we earnestly call on you, dear members and colleagues, to mark this day as a historical event in the life of all Afro-Asian journalists particularly, and the Afro-Asian peoples generally.

We hope that you have by now received copies of the first issue of "the Afro-Asian Journalist". If you have not, please contact us and we will gladly let you have some (state how many).

We further call on you to continue sending us articles on the press-as well as on the struggle either for independence, or for the defence of your independence in your country-for publication in "the Afro-Asian Journalists".

We look forward to receiving material, newspapers etc. from you.

So as to inform all our member colleagues of your activities could you write us of or send us clippings of your activities on "the Asian-African Journalists' Day".

We look forward to hearing from you soon and wish you, in the Bandung spirit, all success and the further solidarity of our Association.

Yours fraternally,

LM/hif.-

14-00000

Asian-African Journalists' Association

(Persatuan Wartawan Asia - Afrika)

Sekretariat : Press House — Djakarta
Telp. 61737 62109 ext 777

ns.-

No.:

Djakarta, ~~March 31st~~ 1964.-

Statement on Cambodia

In response to an urgent appeal by the Cambodian Journalists, to journalists throughout the world, the AAJA calls on all its members to voice support for Cambodia's policy of peace and neutrality and to denounce the U.S. Imperialists, Thailand and South Vietnam, for their aggression against peaceful Cambodia.

We urge all our members to join their voices in demanding that the U.S. Government and all its allies agree readily to the proposal made by the Cambodian Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk for guaranteeing the neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia; and to give valuable support to the just struggle of the Khmer people for developing their economy independently.

oooOOOooo

Enclosed a complete set of the daily bulletin that we ran for the duration of the [illegible] Film Festival III, which ended in great success, and which thoroughly exposed all those who refuse to recognise that our common enemy is ~~xxx~~ imperialism headed by the U.S. The bulletin helped much to make the Communique possible.

We will be writing to you more fully,

comradely yours,

[illegible]. Morrison.

[illegible]

With our compliments and best wishes !

PS Some Translations at the back

Secretariat
Asian — African Journalists' Association
Press House
Djakarta
Indonesia

Phone : 61749

[illegible]

14-00000

Asian-African Journalists' Association

(Persatuan Wartawan Asia - Afrika)

cretariat : Press House — Djakarta
Telp. 61749

Registered.

No.: 110/KL/LK/64/P. Djakarta, 11th. May 1964

Richard Gibson,
Editor
"Revolution",
40 rue Francois 1er,
P A R I S.-

Dear Colleague,

Thank you ever so much for readdressing the letters of comrade Viriato da Cruz to him in Algiers. We are eagerly waiting for some response from him.

Your suggestions of sending us 100 copies of the English and a further 100 copies of the French editions is most welcome. We will gladly accept any subscription funds here in Indonesia and hold such funds until it can either be transmitted or used it by you here in Indonesia.

Your remarks about devoting some efforts to encouraging the progressive press for Afro-American in the USA were noted. We will be discussing the matter soon. (There is no objection in principle- indeed there can't be any at all). What is worrying us the prospects of getting information and articles regularly from any Afro-Americans progressive pressmen. Maybe you have some suggestions and ideas. Let us know, as we urgently feel the need to widen and strengthen unity, with our Afro-American brothers in the states. (We have dispatched 50 copies of the second issue of the AAJ to you).

We are just having some material typed and would let you them as soon as they are done. We would like you to assist (we can supply the articles) in popularising the convening of the next Bandung Conference (Heads of Afro-Asian States). Various forces are already working against such a conference and we have to forcefully put forward the suitability etc of a Second Bandung Conference.

Have you any suggestions etc.?

Our Deputy Secretary-General Joesoef who attended the Sixth session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council meeting in Algiers as an observer, had hoped to call on you in Paris, but unfortunately he was delayed somewhere else and could not thus meet you. However we hope that soon one of our colleagues will have the pleasure of meeting you and colleague Verges and discuss various common problems.

In the meantime, dear colleague, accept our warmest greetings.

Fraternally yours,

Joesoef
Deputy Secretary-General

Asian-African Journalists' Association

(Persatuan Wartawan Asia - Afrika)

Sekretariat : Press House — Djakarta
Telp. 61749

No : 962/Sekr/63

Djakarta, 30th December, 1963

REGISTERED AIR MAIL

The Director,
"Revolution",
Metropole, 10/11,
LAUSANNE,
Switzerland.

Dear Colleague,

Greetings! The Asian-African Journalists Association founded in April, 1963 by 48 countries and Asian African Journalists Unions, took various far reaching decisions and resolutions.

Inter-Alia, it has decided to publish a monthly news bulletin; and to set up a Lumumba Academy, which will serve as a centre of information and reference.

The monthly magazine "Africa Latin America Asia Revolution, is of such a revolutionary content and import that we would like to receive two or three copies regularly monthly. In our turn we will send you copies (state how many) of our bulletin, the first issue which will be ready for dissemination mid January6- next month.

Is there a possibility of you also sending us back number issues of your magazine, as well as the special illustration-"Revolution"- for our office and for usage in the Lumumba Academy.

We are sending you, under seperate cover, some documents relating to the decisions and resolutions passed by the histroic conference; and hope that you will keep in close contact with us, as we are aware that we have much in common, in our struggle against the common enemy-imperialism, colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

Wishing you a prosperous New Year and further successes in your revolutionary work,

Yours fraternally,

Djawoto
SECRETARY GENERAL.

5[illegible] 2, 3, 4-5, 6[illegible]

14-00000

Asian-African Journalists' Association

(Persatuan Wartawan Asia - Afrika)

etariat : Press House — Djakarta
Telp. 61749

MR/AB

REGISTERED

No.: Djakarta, March 13th 1964

Richard Gibson,
Editor-in-Chief,
REVOLUTION
Paris.

Dear Colleague,

We have received the various copies of REVOLUTION, which we heartily thank you for.

Your letter was ver encouraging, and we have noted the contents. We share your ideals, and are thoroughly convinced that our struggle against the forces of reaction will still further advance, and triumph.

We will bear in mind your request for articles etc., and will do all in our efforts to help.

REVOLUTION plays an important part in our revolutionary struggle against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and as such we would like to help in the further distribution of REVOLUTION. We are widely distributing it in Indonesia, and hope to do the same in South EastAsia as well. In addition, because of the foreign exchange problem, we will rather give you names of other interested persons outside Indonesia to whom you can send sample copies. Or we could do that if you so desire. Please let us know! A little note to the effect that we will distribute and wherever possible in South East collect articles for you, in REVOLUTION will be welcomed and facilitate matters.

We are printing initially 6.000 English copies of the 'the Afro-Asian Journalist',and hope to have an extra 4.000 in French ready soon.

We will dispatch 50 copies of 'the Afro-Asian Journalist' to you, under seperate number immediately -(one we will send airmail). If you would like more please do not hesitate to contact us.

Can you also send us some more French copies of REVOLUTION, if possible, as well as some posters.

Dear Colleague, our struggle is gaining momentum and the forces of reaction manifested in colonialism and imperialism in all its forms and manifestations are on the retreat. Our very close co-operation will further help in destroying colonialism and imperialism, which is the curse of all makind.

/We look .....

Asian-African Journalists' Association

(Persatuan Wartawan Asia-Afrika)

Secretariat : Press House — Djakarta
Telp. 61749

No.: Djakarta, ______________ 19___

We look forward to hearing from you again. Greetings and warmest wishes to your Director Comrade Verges and all the other revolutionaries who are working together with you.

Fraternally yours

Djawoto
Secretary-General
A.A.J.A.

14-00000

4-65 3UIU

INDEX: ☐ YES ☑ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO. 201-306052
X-REF TO FILE NO.
FILE RID ☐ RET. TO BRANCH ☑
DESTROY ☐ SIG.

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE — TOTAL COPIES 23

SECRET

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

FROM
PARIS (LCPIPIT)

ACTION
WE 8

☑ RID COPY

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☑ TUBED

UNIT WE — TIME 0946 — BY

INFO
FILE, VR, CA 2, CA/O 4, CI, CI/OA, FI, FI/INT 2, RI/AN

SECRET 071148Z — 7 Jun 65 IN 84527

PRIORITY DIR INFO LOND CITE PALP 3990

AF/1 - C. BILLINGS will reply. JR

KUDESK STEBONY QKPREY

REF LOND 7991 (IN 81357) *

1. IN FINAL LOND MEETING STEBONY/1 (S) TOLD RODIGAST TIFFANY HE ASSUMED PER DIEM WOULD ACCRUE S ENTIRE ALGI STAY. S CLAIMED IMPOSSIBLE LIVE WITHOUT PER DIEM BECAUSE:

A. HIGH COST LIVING ALGI

B. MAINTAINING TWO HOUSEHOLDS

C. WIFE BEGINS MATERNITY LEAVE 1 JULY.

2. TIFFANY SUGGESTED TEN DOLLAR PER DIEM COMPROMISE AND S ACCEPTED. ESTIMATE TOTAL ADDITIONAL EXPENSE 450 DOLLARS.

3. CONSIDER THIS REASONABLE ARRANGEMENT UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES AND REQUEST HQS APPROVAL BY COB 10 JUNE.

4. S SUPPLIED FURTHER EVIDENCE GOOD FAITH 6 JUNE IN PASSING ADDRESS BOOK AND REVOLUTION AFRICAINE AND AAJA CORRESPONDENCE FOR COPYING. LOND POUCHING.

5. INDEX: 201-306052.

SECRET

CFN

ANSAS	FI	
PS	DEST	CI/ICG
ABSTRACT	X	INDEX

7 JUN 1965

SECRET

* RYBAT REF

201-306052
7 JUNE 65

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET/KAPOK

PROCESSING

PRO-POSED	ACTION	ACCOMPLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: Chief of Station, Algiers

INFO: Chief of Station, Paris/LCPIPIT; Chief, AF
Chief, WE; Chief, KUDESK; Chief, KUWOLF

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: STEBONY/Operational
- Plans and Progress with STEBONY/1

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Ref: OELA 43,237

Forwarded herewith as Attachment is a report written by TIFFANY and RODIGAST covering their meeting with STEBONY/1 during the period 1-5 June. Though meetings will be held with S/1 on 6 and 7 June, it is not expected that these will produce any new information to alter the substance of Attachment. Info supplied by S/1 on a variety of personalities and activities will be handled by separate dispatch and info reports.

Joseph S. TIFFANY

Attachment:
Herewith

Distribution:
2-COS, Algiers w/att h/w
2-COS, Paris/LCPIPIT w/att h/w
2-Chief, AF w/att h/w
3-Chief, WE w/att h/w
2-Chief, KUDESK w/att h/w
2-Chief, KUWOLF w/att h/w

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

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POUCH SECURITY VIOLATION
NO FIELD DISTRIBUTION

201-306052

DATE TYPED: 4 June 1965

DATE DISPATCHED:

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-43,272

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

att - 1

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET/KAPOK

TO: Chief,
FROM: Chief of Station, London
Attachment to OELA-43,272
4 June 1965

1. Cover Situation. S/1 was not successful in lining up any cover arrangement in the U.S. Around 28 May he received word from New York of a flat turn-down on his offer to serve as correspondent for Monthly Review. ~~Karo Schleiffer, who was on the spot got this job, and~~ MR's chief editor Leo Hubermann plans to attend 2nd Bandung himself. Locally, however, S/1 was able to line up the following sponsors (though none is in a position to pay much for his services they collectively provide him with sufficient reason for being in Algiers; he will let on that his travel costs were advanced him by his wealthy brother-in-law):

a. Cinnamon, a sort of British Ebony scheduled to bring out its first issue on 20 June.

b. West Indian Gazette, described in earlier correspondence, will provide S/1 with a letter of accreditation.

c. Institute of Race Relations. This politically neutral, academic outfit publishes a monthly newsletter. Connected with Chatham House, the Institute's secretary, Sheilla Paterson is a good friend of S/1. She has asked him to do a paper back book for the Institute on Africa. Again, though they could pay little for this effort it constitutes a highly respectable piece of cover.

During the last two months, S/1 has explained his income to his wife as coming from advances, expense money and articles for Encounter. This has not pleased her, as she dislikes both the Congress for Cultural Freedom and Laskey, but has at least satisfied her curiosity. To explain Katzenbach's telephone calls to his home (K. identified himself to S/1's wife ~~xxx~~ as "Mr. Wilson") S/1 had to improvise a purely notional affiliation with an American feature story syndication service called "Metropolitan Features". This will help explain some of his income to his wife, but will not be used with others.

2. The above skeletal cover will hopefully be reinforced in Algiers where S/1 will scour around for bits and pieces of work for his many contacts there. His visits to Grippa and Andersson on his way to Algiers will also help to fill out his ostensible sources of income, though S/1 has agreed not to overplay this angle. In other words, he will not pretend that these two have given him any funds, but if others want to make the assumption, so much the better.

3. On 1 and 2 June, Tiffany expounded at some length on the importance of S/1 trying to get an Opposition (Soviet, Cuban, Algerian or ChiCom) sponsor for any further cover, such as the researching of a book or establishment of an Afro-Asian news service for U.S. leftist periodicals and/or individuals. While we could easily set him up in this enterprize, we ~~do~~ not ~~want~~ to for the simple reason that this would at best only provide him with a superficial sort of access. What we want him to strive for is Opposition sponsorship that will lead him into one of the nerve centers of the national liberation movement in Algiers or Djakarta. (S/1 ruled out Cairo on the grounds that his wife is Jewish) S/1 accepted this reasoning and agreed to go for a position that holds out the prospect of long-range penetration in depth.

TOUCH SECURITY VIOLATION
NO FIELD DISTRIBUTION

Att #1 to OELA-43272 CS COPY 201-306052

4. Turnover to Rodigast. After getting S/1's unhesitating agreement to an LCFLUTTER examination and his signature on a Secrecy Agreement on 2 June, Tiffany introduced him to Rodigast, under the alias "Paul Weller" on the morning of 3 June. It was explained that Rodigast would serve as S/1 point of contact in the future. S/1 and Rodigast hit it off well from the outset, the latter's knowledge of Paris and Tangiers-based American beatniks and other intellectuals serving him well in the rapport-building process. Rodigast ~~xxxxxx~~ has laid on firm meeting arrangements for Paris and has discussed arrangements for meeting S/1 at least twice during the summer outside Algiers. Final agreement on a mid July meeting will be made in Paris to conform to a normal pattern by S/1 and ~~xxxxx~~ arrangements which S/1 succeeds in developing in Lausanne and Paris. In the process of discussing communications Rodigast is also imparting instruction in good security practices on the part of S/1. Rodigast will instruct S/1 in the use of SW in Paris. Hopefully, Rodigast will be able to spend a day or two with S/1 in Paris, even though we want S/1 to get to Algiers as soon as possible.

5. Financial Arrangements. After discussing all possible alternatives, it was decided that the most secure arrangement would be to give S/1 an advance of the equivalent of $200 for his travel London-Brussels-Lausanne- Paris and per diem and ~~xxx~~ an advance of the equivalent of $600 for his June salary plus non-accountable expenses. These advances were made and signed for on 3 June. One ~~xxxxxx~~ important reason for the large cash advance was the fact that S/1 ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ was completely broke, and he had to make some funds available to his wife to meet expenses and pay off a 65 pound Sterling debt to his brother-in-law before leaving on his trip. (S/1 will explain the funds as the last of the advances and payments for articles by Encounter and other publications.) For essentially the same reason (poverty) we agreed to make S/1's July and August salary payments in advance (to be paid into his Swiss bank account on the first of each month). We recognize that this procedure is

somewhat irregular, but we went ahead with it principally on the grounds that this was necessary to head off the security and morale problems posed by an irate wife.

6. In the course of his initial talk with S/1, Rodigast pursued the matter of the allegations made at various times in the past to the effect that S/1 is or was a "CIA agent" or "FBI agent". S/1 explained the situation as follows:

a. S/1 was a schoolmate of William Gardner Smith, and with Smith's encouragement came to Paris and worked with Smith on the English desk of Agence France Presse. S/1 took over the left bank apartment of Ollie Harrington, American Negro cartoonist and CPUSA member. S/1 had a falling-out with Harrington over the apartment (rent), and in what he describes as a moment of weakness he sought revenge by forging a letter with Harrington's signature which indicated support for the FLN (Algeriah nationalists); at that time the French were extremely sensitive to the subject, of course, and S/1's act was designed to hurt Harrington, and perhaps his friends as well. S/1 was found out, and questioned by the French police; his break with William Gardner Smith and that crowd dates from this moment. S/1 had been forced to write an apology to Harrington, confessing to the forgery.

b. S/1 believes that Jacques Vergès obtained the letter of apology (to Harrington) from Smith or from Ellen Wright (an American, white, widow of the Negro novelist Richard Wright; she continues to reside in Paris as a literary agent handling books of writers connected with Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir; S/1 says that she is a friend of Harrington). As for Harrington, S/1 believes he is now in Ghana or in East Germany; in East Germany he has American friends: a Negro singer Aubrey Pankey and his white wife Kay; she is an editor of the East German publishing house Seven Seas (which prints books in English), and is close to Shirley Graham Dubois.

c. The CPUSA knew of the Harrington forgery and

according to S/1 told the Cubans about it, since the CPUSA hoped to discredit S/1 and put their own people in touch with the Cubans. S/1 told the Cubans a tall tale which he hopes they believed (among those he spoke to was Roa): he said that during the French drive against the FLN various people were writing letters in support of the Algerians and signing prominent names to them, and that the Harrington forgery was carried out in this spirit.

d. The hostility to S/1 from Ainslee and McGowan had as its origin their anger that Vergès had given S/1 a job that should have gone to an Englishman (or woman); they felt that Africa was a problem of the British CP; and so they spread the story about S/1.

e. Rodigast recalled that William Gardner Smith had once written a letter to the Paris Herald Tribune denying that a pro-Castro letter which appeared several days earlier signed W G Smith had been sent by him. At the time (perhaps 18 months ago) Smith told Rodigast, who questioned him on the matter, "Oh, that's an old story." Without indicating that he knew Smith, Rodigast raised the question of Smith's Herald Tribune letter to S/1, who said he had never seen it or heard of it before.

f. Rodigast gave S/1 the recent clipping from Le Monde which indicated that Patricia MacGowan's husband or lover Carlos Lansa had been arrested by the Algerians in connection with the investigation of the Delgado killing. Rodigast warned S/1 that we did not know whether a charge would be made, or indeed whether Lansa had already been released along with others arrested at the same time. Nevertheless S/1 thought the clipping would be useful to show to those not terribly familiar with the details, but who might be favorably influenced by a report showing that the people who denounced S/1 as a "CIA agent" had also sent Delgado to his death.

7. Questioned on his residence status vis a vis French and Swiss authorities, S/1 said:

a. He feels he can come and go to Switzerland without

problems. When Revolution was closed down by the Swiss, S/1 was called in and notified that he had three months to leave the country because of the undesirable nature of his activities; the Swiss told Nils Anderssen informally that should S/1 change to a "desirable" activity he would be allowed to stay. Following his departure on what S/1 considered very polite terms (i.e., the three-month notice period), S/1 traveled regularly to Switzerland (once a month, on Revolution business), although he tries to arrive by means which expose him to minimal border checks (train rather than plane, and Trans Europe Express best of all) and while in Switzerland lives with friends rather than in a hotel to avoid having to fill out police cards. (S/1 was notified of his expulsion in September 1963 and left in December before the deadline. His most recent trips were in January-February 1965.)

b. S/1 was never arrested by the French, merely interrogated on the Harrington forgery charge. He has resided in Paris since that time. During the early stages of S/1's suit against Vergès for payment of back wages, Vergès' attorney said in open court that S/1 had been in France illegally (as he had no carte de sejour; he could not obtain one since Vergès never agreed to a work contract which would be required at the time of application for a carte de sejour). (In connection with the Vergès suit: S/1's French lawyer Pierre Schwarzenberg, has not pressed the charges; he is a Communist and an old friend of Vergès, and told S/1 he believed he could obtain a settlement through persuasion. S/1 has already paid Schwarzenberg's fee (the money was obtained from S/1's brother-in-law), and does not know whether he can whip up Schwarzenberg's enthusiasm. Should S/1 win a judgement for the some $5000 owed to him, he could force Vergès' bankruptcy (there is a printer in the same legal position who has not insisted on payment because he is reluctant to bring on bankruptcy). S/1 says that it is possible that if he engaged a first-class non-Communist attorney in France (who would have to be paid in advance) he might achieve

this goal, but it is not certain that he could get the original fee back from Schwarzenberg.

8. For future contacts, Rodigast gave S/1 "an alias I am using: James Sunderland, c/o American Express, 11 rue Scribe, Paris 9, the "c/o American Express" being optional. Rodigast will also look into the possibility of emergency contact via want ads placed in Alger Republicain or Le Peuple (the latter is preferred by S/1), which Rodigast believes will be purchased and read daily by LCPIPIT during the summer anyway-- they arrive in Paris a day or two after publication. S/1 could advertise for a stenographer able to take perfect English shorthand, for example.

Rufus F. Rodigast

Joseph S. Tiffany

CS COPY

POUCH SECURITY VIOLATION
NO FIELD DISTRIBUTION

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET RYBAT

PROCESSING

PRO-POSED	ACTION	ACCOM-PLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: Chief, WE

INFO: Chief of Stations; Algiers; Paris/LCPIPIT; Chief, AF; Chief, KUDESK; Chief, KUWOLF (Attn: Noel D. KAMMERMAYER)

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: STEBONY/KUDESK/QRPREY

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

REF: A LOND 7991
B DIR 15660

1. Forwarded under separate cover true name pouch as Attachment 1 is the original Letter of Agreement signed by STEBONY/1 on 3 June. Attachment 2 forwarded with this dispatch is a santized version of this contract.

2. Attachment 3 forwarded under separate cover true name pouch is a Secrecy Agreement signed by STEBONY/1 on 2 June.

3. Attachment 4 forwarded underseparate cover true name pouch is PRQ Part I, filled out by STEBONY/1 on 2 June. It should be noted that due to limitation of time this was prepared in great haste.

4. Attachment 5 is the top half of the signature specimen assigning a pseudonym to STEBONY/1. The bottom half of this document is forwarded as Attachment 6 under separate cover true name pouch.

Joseph S. Tiffany

Joseph S. TIFFANY

Attachments 1,3,4,& 6 (USC)
Attachments 2 & 5 Herewith

Distribution:
~~3~~-Chief, WE w/o att
2-COS, Algiers w/o att
2-Chief, AF w/att 2 h/w & 4 (USC)
2-Chief, KUDESK w/att 1, 3, 4 & 6 (USC) & 2 & 5 h/w
2-Chief, KUWOLF w/o att

automatic downgrading and declassification

CS COPY

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DATE TYPED: 4 June 1965

DATE DISPATCHED:

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-43,237

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET-RYBAT

SECRET

LETTER OF AGREEMENT

Mr. Richard T. Gibson

Dear Mr. Gibson:

The United States Government, as represented by the Contracting Officer, hereby contracts with you for the purchase of certain information and related services of a confidential nature under the following terms and conditions:

1. Compensation. In full consideration for the purchase of such information and services, you will be paid an amount calculated at the rate of $500.00 per month. Payments will be made in a secure manner acceptable to you. No taxes will be withheld from this amount. Escrow: A mutually agreed portion will be withheld in an escrow account for you for reasons of security as soon as this becomes a practical possibility.

2. Travel. You will be advanced or reimbursed funds for necessary expenses incurred in connection with such operational travel as may be directed or authorized by the U. S. Government. You will be required to account for such expenses in a manner consistent with good security. Since security conditions generally preclude the detailed accounting of miscellaneous travel expenses, per diem will be paid at the rate of $20 per day during periods of authorized travel.

201

3. Operational Expenses. You will recieve $100.00 per month for necessary operational expenses on a non-accountable basis. Any operational expenses incurred beyond the amount must be specifically authorized by U. S. Governemnt.

4. The U. S. Government will compensate you in an amount mutually agreed upon for the relocation of you and your family to a new residence if such a relocation is considered desirable by you and the U. S. Government.

5. The Organization, in recognition of a clear moral obligation will undertake to protect you against any adverse actions related to your activities and associations entered into at the request of the U. S. Government during the term of this agreement.

6. Secrecy. You will be required to keep forever secret this contract and all information which you may obtain by reason hereof (unless released in writing by U. S. Government from such obligation), with full knowledge that violation of such secrecy may subject you to criminal prosecution under applicable laws and regulations.

7. No promises or commitments pertaining to rights, privileges, or benefits other than those expressly stipulated in writing in this agreement or any amendment hereto shall be binding on the U. S. Government.

8. Term. This contract is effective as of 1 June 1965 and shall continue thereafter for three months (to 1 September 1965). Extension to two years (to 1 June 1967) will be contingent upon the granting of full operational clearance and your performance during the summer 1965 assignment in North Africa and access acquired during that period. Furthermore, it is understood

a. That on or before 1 September 1965 it will be possible to renegotiate the terms of compensation of this contract for the period following that date;

b. That after 1 September 1965 this contract (and its extension) can be terminated by either party with 30 days notice.

Termination of this agreement will not release you from the obligations of any security oath (Secrecy Agreement) you have signed.

United States Government

By [signature]

SECRET

TO: Chief, KUDESK
FROM: Chief of Station, London
Attachment No. 2 to OELA-43,237
4 June 1965

LETTER OF AGREEMENT

STEBONY/1
Dear Mr. STEBONY/1

The United States Government, as represented by the Contracting Officer, Hereby contracts with you for the purchase of certain information and related services of a confidential nature under the following terms and conditions:

1. Compensation. In full consideration for the purchase of such information and services, you will be paid an amount calculated at the rate of $500.00 per month. Payments will be made in a secure manner acceptable to you. No taxes will be withheld from this amount. Escrow: A mutually agreed portion will be withheld in an escrow account for you for reasons of security as soon as this becomes a practical possibility.

2. Travel. You will be advanced or reimbursed funds for necessary expenses incurred in connection with such operational travel as may be directed or authorized by the U. S. Government. You will be required to account for such expenses in a manner consistent with good security. Since security conditions generally preclude the detailed accounting of miscellaneous travel expenses, per diem will be paid at the rate of $20 per day during periods of authorized travel.

3. Operational Expenses. You will recieve $100.00 per month for necessary operational expenses on a non-accountable basis. Any operational expenses incurred beyond the amount must be specifically authorized by U. S. Governemnt.

4. The U. S. Government will compensate you in an amount mutually agreed upon for the relocation of you and your family to a new residence if such a relocation is considered desirable by you and the U. S. Government.

5. The Organization, in recognition of a clear moral obligation will undertake to protect you against any adverse actions related to your activities and associations entered into at the request of the U. S. Government during the term of this agreement.

6. Secrecy. You will be required to keep forever secret this contract and all information which you may obtain by reason hereof (unless released in writing by U. S. Government from such obligation), with full knowledge that violation of such secrecy may subject you to criminal prosecution under applicable laws and regulations.

7. No promises or commitments pertaining to rights, privileges, or benefits other than those expressly stipulated in writing in this agreement or any amendment hereto shall be binding on the U. S. Government.

8. Term. This contract is effective as of 1 June 1965 and shall continue thereafter for three months (to 1 September 1965). Extension to two years (to 1 June 1967) will be contingent upon the granting of full operational clearance and your performance during the summer 1965 assignment in North Africa and access acquired during that period. Furthermore, it is understood

a. That on or before 1 September 1965 it will be possible to renegotiate the terms of compensation of this contract for the period following that date;

b. That after 1 September 1965 this contract (and its extension) can be terminated by either party with 30 days notice.

Termination of this agreement will not release you from the obligations of any security oath (Secrecy Agreement) you have signed.

United States Government

ACCEPTED: 3 June 1965

/s/ STEBONY/1

By [signature]
Robert C. Gustke

SECRET

SECRECY AGREEMENT

1. I, Richard Gibson, understand that upon entering on duty I am undertaking a position of trust in the Organization responsible for intelligence relating to the security of our country. I understand that in the course of this association I will acquire information about the Organization and its activities and about intelligence acquired or produced by the Organization.

2. I have read and understand the provisions of the espionage laws of our government and I am aware that unauthorized disclosure of classified information relating to the national defense may subject me to prosecution for violation of such laws, whether such disclosure be made while I am associated with the Organization or at any time thereafter.

3. In addition, however, as I am undertaking a position of trust, I have a responsibility to the Organization not to disclose any classified information relating to the Organization without proper authorization. I undertake, therefore, not to discuss with or disclose to any person not authorized to hear it from information relating to the Organization, its activities, or to intelligence material under the control of the Organization. I further understand that this undertaking is a condition of my association with the Organization, that its violation may subject me to immediate dismissal for cause or to other appropriate disciplinary action, and that this undertaking shall be equally binding upon me after my association with the Organization as during it.

4. I understand that the burden is upon me to ascertain whether or not information is classified and if so, who is authorized to receive it, and, therefore, I will obtain the decision of authorized officials of the Organization on these points prior to disclosing information relating to the Organization, and failure to obtain such a decision will be grounds for my dismissal.

5. I understand that my unauthorized action or verbal or written utterance which would reasonably be expected to result in publicity on intelligence or intelligence activities would be in violation of government and Organization regulations and would be grounds for my dismissal.

6. I understand that there are established procedures within the Organization permitting appeal at all times of any legitimate criticism, grievance, or complaint and that to carry any such grievance or complaint which I may have outside the Organization will be considered a violation of the undertaking set forth above in paragraph 3.

7. I further understand and agree that my association with the Organization is conditioned upon my understanding of and strict compliance with the Organization security requirements.

8. I will not undertake to publish or participate in the publication of any information or material relating to the Organization, its activities, or intelligence activities generally, either during or after the term of my association with the Organization without specific prior approval by the Organization.

Visas



611038

IMPORTANT INFORMATION FOR YOU

- **TRAVEL IN DISTURBED AREAS**

  If you travel in disturbed areas, you should keep in touch with the nearest American diplomatic or consular office.

- **PROLONGED RESIDENCE ABROAD**

  If you make your home or reside for a prolonged period abroad, you should register at the nearest American consulate.

- **LOSS OF NATIONALITY**

  You may lose your United States nationality by being naturalized in, or by voting in the elections of a foreign state; by taking an oath or making a declaration of allegiance to a foreign state; [illegible] in the armed forces or accepting employment under the government of a foreign state. If you are a naturalized citizen of the United States, you may [illegible] by residing for 3 years in the country of your birth or former nationality, or by residing for [illegible] in any other foreign state or states. For [illegible] information consult the nearest American diplomatic or consular office.

- **VIOLATION OF [illegible]**

  If you use or [illegible] passport in violation of the conditions [illegible] contained in it you may lose the [illegible] States [illegible] continue to reside [illegible] may be liable for prosecution [illegible] U. S. Code).

- **LOSS OR DESTRUCTION OF PASSPORT**

  If this passport is lost, stolen or destroyed, report full details immediately to the [illegible] Service, Department of State, Washington [illegible] D. C., or to the nearest American consulate. [illegible] possession of the United States, report to the [illegible] and to the local police authorities. [illegible] loss or destruction cases new passports are issued only after exhaustive investigation.

- **ALTERATION OR MUTILATION OF PASSPORT**

  This passport [illegible] be altered [illegible]. You must not alter any [illegible] changes in your [illegible], on the [illegible] any other page of this passport [illegible] is invalid. Only authorized [illegible] of [illegible] or of foreign countries [illegible] [illegible]

9. I agree that all information or intelligence acquired by me in connection with my official duties with the Organization remains the property of our government, and I will surrender, upon demand by an appropriate official of the Organization or upon separation from the Organization, any material relating to such information and intelligence in my possession.

10. I take the obligations set forth above freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have set my hand and seal this 2nd [redacted] day of June 1965.

Richard Gibson (SEAL)

Witness:

Robert [illegible] Approved:

Date

14-00000

PERSONAL RECORD QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I - BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

/PRQ/

Instruction: 1. Write clearly.
2. Answer all questions completely. If question does not apply, write "not applicable" (NA)
3. Attach blank pages if additional space is needed.

1. Full Name RICHARD THOMAS GIBSON
First Middle Last

2. Name in native script NA

3. Name at birth (if different from 1.) NA

4. Aliases, nicknames, legal changes (State briefly time, reason and place of use.) NONE

5. a. Date of birth 13 MAY 1931 b. Place of birth LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

6. Present citizenship, race if appropriate Negro

7. Nationality at birth and any subsequent nationalities (if different from 6.) U.S.

8. Present residence (Owner, tenant, sub-tenant.) 30, STOCKLEIGH HALL, PRINCE ALBERT ROAD, LONDON, N.W.8 (tenant)

9. Permanent address (if different from 8.) NA

10. Present occupation (full title, salary etc.) FREELANCE JOURNALIST

11. Naturalization of subject or of close relatives in the United States. (Give date and name in which certificate granted.) NA

12. Relatives, friends, correspondents in United States. (Explain relationship) MRS. SADIE THOMAS (grandmother)
MR. CLARENCE GIBSON (father)

14-00000

/PRQ/

13. Father - full name, occupation, present residence, year and place of birth, nationality at birth and subsequent nationalities.

CLARENCE LOUIS GIBSON, CURRENT ADDRESS UNKNOWN IN PHILADELPHIA, PA. RETIRED MAILMAN. US. CITIZEN BORN IN U.S. BUT DATE AND PLACE UNKNOWN

14. Mother - same information as 13.

ALICE M. GIBSON (née THOMAS)
DECEASED 1936 or 37 (?)

15. Wife (or husband) - full name, maiden name, date and place of birth, date and place of marriage, nationality at birth and any subsequent nationalities, present residence, divorce, annulment. (Give data for all previous marriages.)

JOY MARJORIE GIBSON (née KAYE), BORN HENDON, ENGLAND 12 July 1926, British, 30 STOCKLEIGH HALL, PRINCE ALBERT RD., LONDON, N.W.8
Married 24 MARCH 1956 in PARIS.

16. Children - full names, sex, year and place of birth, nationality at birth and any subsequent nationalities, present residence.

Dominique Elisabeth GIBSON, F. 29 Oct. 1956 in Paris, Nationality U.S.
Frederick William Gordon GIBSON, M. 5 March 1958 in Paris - U.S.

17. Brothers and sisters - Same information as 16.

None

/PRQ/

25. Military service - dates, country, unit, rank, duty, where services performed, decorations, when discharged, why. Give details if ever prisnor of war

Entered U.S. Army in Trieste, Italy - Dec. 1952
~~sent to~~ Fort Dix, N.J. for basic training, later
transferred Fort Benning, Ga., then to 37th Engineer
Gp (Const), Gllingen, Germany as Public Information
NCO - discharged in Germany Dec. 1954

26. Present and past membership in organization (professional, social, political, etc.) FPCC - See #21
member NAACP, Urban League and American
Society of African Culture

27. Special skills, abilities, hobbies (radio, photography, etc.)
Can operate camera, tape recorder

28. Financial status - earnings, bank deposits, securities, property
Owe £1500 to my brother-in-law (Gordon
Kaye)
Various lesser debts in Paris resulting from
Revolution fiasco

29. ~~Employment history~~ - type of work, salary, dates, employers, addresses, reasons for leaving. Include employment by any government.

cub reporter - Philadelphia Afro-American (newspaper)
Autumn, 1950 -
Spring 1951 - salary approx. $50 per week - left for
literary fellowship at "Yaddo", Saratoga Springs, N.Y.
1951-1952 - Rome - worked freelance for
Italian Films Export, film publicity outfit, and
Edmund Stevens, then Rome correspondent of Christian
Science Monitor

14-00000

/PRQ/

18. Relatives in service of any government, names and positions held.

None

19. List all official identity papers held with dates, numbers, place of issue and duration of validity.

20. Religion - degree practiced, membership in religious orders

EPISCOPAL — NOT PRACTICED

21. Present and past political affiliations

FOUNDING MEMBER, FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE
1960 – 1962

22. Travel outside country of present residence - country, dates, purpose, people and firms visited (see attachment)

1951-52 ITALY John Hay Whitney Fellowship
1954 – W. GERMANY – U.S. ARMY
1954-58 FRANCE – GI BILL at Sorbonne, then editor Agence France Presse 1960-61 Four or Five visits to Cuba for FPCC

23. Education - school, location, course, degree, dates

24. Languages and dialects (Indicate proficiency as good, fair, poor.)

Language French Speak good Read good Understand good
Language Italian Speak poor Read fair Understand fair
Language Spanish Speak poor Read fair Understand fair
German poor fair fair

/PRQ/

29. (Continued)

Also assisted late Italian writer and film producer, Curzio MALAPARTE, on Italo-American film project. Salaries were all small and based on piecework. Drafted in US. Army in Dec. 1954.

1955-58 English editor at Agence France-Presse in Paris - was discharged when "Ollie" HARRINGTON brought forgery charges against me. Salary 900 frs. per month

1959-61 CBS News, New York - newswriter - salary approx. $200 per week. Discharged because of involvement in Fair Play for Cuba, but was given CBS Fellowship at Columbia Grad. School (mainly African studies) for 60-61

30. Has subject done any writing? Give details including titles of books, articles, publishers, dates. A MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES (novel), London, 1958. Numerous articles in many periodicals, such as KENYON REVIEW, GIORNALE D'ITALIA, PERSPECTIVES U.S.A., MONTHLY REVIEW, THE NATION, REVOLUTION, BOHEMIA (Havana), REVOLUCION (Havana), etc.

31. List persons living at same address, close associates, (individuals or groups,) correspondents at home and abroad.

Wife and children live with me.

~~See attached~~ Correspondents at home and abroad too numerous to list here but have been reported earlier.

32. List five character references.

NA

14-00000

/PRQ/

33. Court record - court, date, arrests, charges, punishments, sentences, acquittals, denazification, etc.

None

34. Description (Use American standards of measurement, if possible.)

Age 34
Apparent age 36 or 37
Height 5 ft 10 in
Eyes black
Face - shape oval
Complexion light
Sex M

Posture stooped
Weight 165 lbs.
Teeth gap in front
Hair kinky black
Scars —
Build medium

General appearance fairly neat, reasonably well dressed
Prominent features none
Other identifying features wear glasses

35. Other miscellaneous biographical data and comments.

14-00000

22. Travel (cont.)

1962 - ENGLAND, FRANCE, ~~~~ MOROCCO, ALGERIA
Departure from FPCC, no fixed objective abroad, Employed by Jacques VERGÈS and Révolution Africaine in Algiers, Nov. 1962

1963 - 64 SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, BELGIUM HOLLAND, ENGLAND - residence or trips involved with business of editing Revolution

1964 - ENGLAND - Stay with wife's family, seeking employment

1965 - JAN. + FEB. ITALY, SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, BELGIUM - trip financed by Encounter to research article

29. EMPLOYMENT (cont.)

1961-62 Acting Executive Secretary, Fair Play for Cuba Committee - salary ran from $150 to nothing per week. Left because of unwillingness to continue an unpleasant task.

1962-64 - Editor Révolution Africaine and later Editor of its English edition - salary 1000 (new) French frs. at first and later 1500 frs. per month - rupture based on financial collapse of publication and various disagreements with Verges, its publisher.

TO: Chief, KUDESK
FROM: Chief of Station, London
Attachment No. 5 to OELA-43,237
4 June 1965

Signature Specimen **London 2 June 1965**

In the future I will use the following pseudonym and signature.

Frederick T. Dominie

TO: Chief, KUDESK
FROM: Chief of Station, London
Attachment No. 6 (USC) to
OELA-43,237, 4 June 1965

Richard Gibson

14-00000

FBI doc.
24 May '65 (4 Wash.)
Re: Richard Thomas Gibson
no Bufile given

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING

PROPOSED	ACTION	ACCOMPLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: Chief, WE

INFO.: Chief, KUDESK; AF; FE; LCPIPIT; Chief of Stations, Algiers; Paris

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: KUDESK STEBONY QRPREY JAGUAR
O JAGUAR Report on STEBONY/1

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

JAGUAR had made the following available to us, in response to our request for information on a continuing basis relating to STEBONY/1:

"In mid-May STEBONY/1 was still trying to arrange a visit to Algiers this summer - on the strength of help he has received from 'some comrades'.

"Robert WILLIAMS in Havana has given STEBONY/1 the impression that he may visit Algiers as a member of a Cuban delegation. Also, STEBONY/1 understands that William WORTHY, who has been in Hanoi, will be going to Algiers. STEBONY/1 expects to meet a number of his friends there and his main reason for wishing to make this trip is to discuss his problems, past and present, with these friends and other interested parties. He hopes to clear up doubts and uncertainties and, in this context, he has commented that one of the reasons for much of the hostility shown to him has been the reluctance of others to involve themselves in the differences which arose between himself and Jacques VERGES because the latter was clearly more influential and more important than STEBONY/1.

"STEBONY/1 had heard that VERGES was still insisting that STEBONY/1 was a KUBARK agent and that Nils ANDERSON and Jacques GRIPPA were 'ODYOKE double agents'. GRIPPA, who is leader of the pro-Chinese Communist group in Belgium, is planning to bring up-to-date his book 'Marxism-Leninism or Revisionism', published two years ago, by adding a new chapter. STEBONY/1 is looking into the possibility of its publication in the UK or PBPRIME and, in this context, he considers 'Monthly Review' to be the only possible medium although Leo HUBERMAN, one of the publication's editors, is not enthusiastic about the idea."

Kat

George H. KATZENBACH

201-306052

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

Distribution:
~~3~~-Chief, WE
2-Chief, KUDESK
2-Chief, AF
2-Chief, FE
2-Chief, LCPIPIT
2-COS, Algiers
2-COS, Paris

CROSS REFERENCE TO

CS COPY

DATE TYPED: 2 June 1965

DATE DISPATCHED: 9 JUN 1965

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-43,235

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

INDEX: ☐ YES ☒ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO. 201-306
X-REF TO FILE NO.
FILE RID ☐ RET. TO BRANCH ☐
DESTROY ☐ SIG.

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE TOTAL COPIES 34

SECRET

GROUP 1 EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING AND DECLASSIFICATION

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

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UNIT WE TIME 1534

INFO FILE VR, ADDP, C/CI

SECRET 021651Z

PRIORITY DIR INFO ALGI PARI PALP CITE LOND 7991

2 Jun 65 IN 81357

KAPOK STEBONY KUDESK QRPREY

2. ON 1 JUNE KATZENBACH INTRODUCED TIFFANY TO STEBONY/1 (S/1). ON 2 JUNE S/1 FILLED OUT PRQ PART ONE, SIGNED SECRECY AGREEMENT AND PSEUDO CARD, AGREED SIGN TWO YEAR CONTRACT 3 JUNE ON FOLLOWING TERMS:

A. COMPENSATION: FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS SALARY PLUS ONE HUNDRED NON ACCOUNTABLE EXPENSE ALLOWANCE PER MONTH.

B. TRAVEL COST PLUS AUTHORIZED MISCELLANEOUS OPS EXPENSES.

C. TERMINATION: TERM FIXED 1 JUNE THROUGH 31 AUGUST AT END OF WHICH IT POSSIBLE RENEGOTIATE SALARY IN LINE WITH S/1 ALGI PERFORMANCE AND DEGREE ACCESS HE HAS ACHIEVED FOR LONG TERM PENETRATION ASIAN AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. ALSO ON 1 SEPT THIRTY DAY CANCELLATION CLAUSE BECOMES OPERATIVE.

D. KUBARK AGREES PAY COST RESETTLEMENT S/1 FAMILY AT END ALGI SUMMER TOUR IF THIS REQUIRED BY S/1 JOB LOCATION.

E. QUESTION OF HOLDING PART S/1 COMPENSATION IN ESCROW TO BE DECIDED 3 JUNE. DUE OBLIGATION FAMILY MAINTENANCE, HOWEVER, IT UNLIKELY LARGE PORTION CAN BE WITHHELD DURING NEXT THREE MONTHS.

SECRET

3 JUN 1965

ANT		WE/5C
ABSTRACT	INDEX	

201-306052

14-00000

SECRET

IN 81357 PAGE 2

2. SINCE THIS CONTRACT IN LINE WITH TIFFANY TALKS WITH AF DIV PRIOR DEPARTURE HQS, WILL ASSUME APPROVAL UNLESS NOTIFIED OTHERWISE AND PRESENT CONTRACT FOR S/1 SIGNATURE 1000 HOURS 3 JUNE. IMMEDIATELY AFTER WILL INTRODUCE RODIGAST. S/1 PASSED EQUIV 100 DOLLARS SIGNING BONUS.

3. TENTATIVE ITINERARY FOR S/1 IS DEPART LOND 8 JUNE SPEND ONE DAY TO VISIT GRIPPA AND OR RAINDORF BRUS; TO LAUSANNE BY RAIL 9 JUNE; TO PARI BY RAIL LATE 11 JUNE; TO TANGIER BY AIR 16 JUNE AND ON TO ALGI BY RAIL 17 OR 18 JUNE.

4. WE BELIEVE S/1 HAS ADEQUATE COVER FOR ALGI SUMMER, DETAILS BY POUCH.

5. ON BASIS TALKS WITH MARC SCHLEIFFER 1 JUNE S/1 SUGGESTED THAT HE TAKE TAPE RECORDER (OSTENSIBLY SUPPLIED BY BROTHER IN LAW) TO ALGI TO USE TOGETHER WITH S FOR RECORDING INTERVIEWS FOR PACIFICA FOUNDATION NEW JERSEY RADIO STATION WBAI. TIFFANY GAVE TENTATIVE TURNDOWN THIS IDEA, SINCE IT HIGHLY IMPLAUSIBLE REPORTER IN S/1 POSITION WOULD SPEND TIME MAKING TAPES FOR POSSIBLE (NOT CERTAIN) NOMINAL PAYTS BY WBAI. HOWEVER, THIS GIMMICK MIGHT BE USEFUL TO GET S/1 ACCESS FOR PRIVATE TALKS WITH TARGET PERSONALITIES. LEAVE TO ALGI AND HQS DISCRETION WHETHER

SECRET

TO AUTHORIZE TAPE RECORDER FOR S/1 WHICH RODIGAST COULD PROCURE AND TURN OVER S/1 PARI 13-16 JUNE.

6. FORWARDING PRQ ONE AND SECRECY AGREEMENT. WITH THIS AND S/1 AGREEMENT LCFLUTTER TRUST HQS CAN EXPEDITE APPROPRIATE SECURITY CLEARANCE S/1.

S E C R E T

SECRET

CFN

3 JUN 1959

14-00000

file R. GIBSON

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE TOTAL COPIES 23

SECRET

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

FROM LONDON

ACTION OS 2

ADVANCE COPY ISSUED SLOTTED TUBED

UNIT TIME BY

INFO VR. FILE, EE 4, WE 6, CI/OA, CI, AF 6, CI/OPS,

S E C R E T 271700Z

DIR INFO FRAN GMNY CITE LOND 7909

FJDUST LCFLUTTER KUDESK STEBONY

27 MAY 65 IN 77375

REF DIR 13891

DUE HIS NATIONALITY, WE DO NOT NEED SMOOTHERS OKAY TO FLUTTER STEBONY/1. HOWEVER, OUR GENERAL POLICY IS NOT TO FLUTTER HERE ANYONE WHO LIKELY REACT AND RAISE FUSS CAUSING SERIOUS POLITICAL EMBARRASSMENT FOR US OR HMG. BECAUSE OF POINTS IN HIS HISTORY AND PERSONALITY, WE HAVE REASON TO DOUBT STEBONY/1 WILL COTTON TO FLUTTER, AND PREFER DEFER DECISION UNTIL TIFFANY BRIEFED AND HAS TALKED TO STEBONY/1. MAY THEN DECIDE, IF FLUTTER IN ORDER, CONDUCT IN EUROPE WHILE HE EN ROUTE ALGIERS.

CFN

SECRET

SECRET

201

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING ACTION: MARKED FOR INDEXING / NO INDEXING REQUIRED / ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING / MICROFILM

TO: Chief of Station, London

INFO.: Chief of Station, LCPIPIT (Paris)

FROM: Chief, WE

SUBJECT: STEBONY - Transmittal of Interview Tapes

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

References: A. PALP 3904 (IN 75497)
B. OELA - 42,706
C. OELA - 42,410

1. Forwarded herewith as Enclosure are the tapes of KATZENBACH's interviews of STEBONY/1 requested in Reference A. Hopefully, this package will reach London in time for background use by Rodigast.

2. After Rodigast is finished with the tapes, please save one reel or send it back to Headquarters for retention, and destroy the other three.

SFR
STEWART F. ROLNICK

2 - London w/att
1 - Paris w/o att

201-306052

CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	OELW - 22233	26 May 1965
	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET	HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

1 - RI
1 - CI/ICG
1 - WE/BC/U

AN SPFI
REP. TEST
ABSTRACT X INDEX

ORIGINATING

OFFICE	OFFICER	TYPIST	EXT.
CI/ICG	A. Goodrich	dab	5928

COORDINATING

OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE	OFFICER'S NAME
WE/BC/U		John K. Roberts

RELEASING

OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE	OFFICER'S SIGNATURE
DCWE(BC)	26 May	John F. Caswell

FORM 1-63 53 USE PREVIOUS EDITION (40)

DISPATCH

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING ACTION: MARKED FOR INDEXING; XX NO INDEXING REQUIRED; ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING; MICROFILM

TO: Chief, FE Attn: Chief, WE

INFO: Chief of Station, London

FROM: Chief of Station, Paris

SUBJECT: KOBIRD/LCHARVEST/KUDESK/STEBONY - "Revolution" Mailing List

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Reference: OELA-43,113 of 13 May 1965

Action: Please provide copy of subject list.

We note London Station's comment that the only copy of the "Revolution" mailing list, as provided by STEBONY, has been sent to Headquarters. We are not clear whether the STEBONY list was for the English-language edition of "Revolution" only, or for all subscribers. If possible, we should appreciate Headquarters' forwarding a list of "Revolution" subscribers and addresses in France.

Ann E. DUCOTE

Distribution:
- 2 - Chief, FE
- 3 - Chief, WE
- 2 - COS, London

201-306052

MAY 21 1965

CROSS REFERENCE TO:

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OFPA - 79835

DATE: 21 May 1965

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

HQS FILE NUMBER:

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION
SECRET

PROCESSING

PRO-POSED	ACTION	ACCOM-PLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO
Chief of Station, Paris; Chief, WE

INFO.
Chief, FE

FROM
Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT KUDESK STKBONY LCHARVEST QRPREY
"Revolution" Address List

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Ref: OFPA 79410, 3 May 1965

London Station was able to make only a single copy of the list, and, due to its bulk and the length of time required to copy it, we have not retained a copy. We doubt that the entire list, which runs to several thousand names (mostly in the U.S.) would be useful to Paris Station, but Headquarters may be able to supply an extract of names to suit your need — or the whole thing, if you wish.

George H. KATZENBACH

Distribution:
2-COS, Paris
~~3~~-Chief, WE
2-Chief, FE

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

201-306052

CS COPY

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DATE TYPED
13 May 1965

DATE DISPATCHED
14 MAY 1965

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER
OELA-43,113

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER

CLASSIFICATION
SECRET

BF

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE TOTAL COPIES 28

SECRET

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED: Vil STEBONY/1

FROM: LONDON

ACTION: WE 8

INFO: VR. FILE, AF 6, CA 2, CA/O 4, FE 6, CI, CI/OPS, CI/IC 2, FI, FI/INT 2

S E C R E T 121711Z

DIR INFO ALGI PARI PALP CITE LOND 7620 12 May 65 IN 65581

KUDESK STEBONY

JAGUAR HAVE INFORMALLY ADVISED US OF NEW REPORT THAT "RUMORS HAVE RECENTLY REVIVED SAYING THAT STEBONY/1 IS CONNECTED WITH A FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY." STA REQUEST FOR ELABORATION, INDICATION OF AREA IN WHICH RUMOR CIRCULATING, ETC., MET WITH COMMENT THAT JAGUAR UNABLE TO SAY ANY MORE AT PRESENT, AND CANNOT "YET" LET US HAVE THIS COMMENT IN WRITING. WILL PURSUE AND ADVISE ANY DEVELOPMENTS.

201

S E C R E T

CFN

SECRET

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING		
PRO-POSED	ACTION	ACCOM-PLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: Chief, WE

INFO: Chief, KUDESK; Chief, AF; Chief, FE; Chief, LCPIPIT; Chief of Station, Algiers; Chief of Station, Paris

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: STEBONY KUDESK QRPREY
Cover Possibility for STEBONY/1

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

1. During a recent meeting, STEBONY/1 called my attention to the book Political Africa, by Ronald SEGAL, published London 1961 by Stevens and Sons, Ltd. STEBONY/1 used the book to look up a brief bio squib on, as it happened, Patrick Duncan. He commented that the book, although out of date and far from objective (one of the collaborators was Rosalynde AINSLIE), was extremely useful to him.

2. I subsequently got a copy of the book, and find it useful. None-theless, it is far out of date. It would appear that there is a great need for an up-dated version, more comprehensive and more objective. STEBONY/1 might be the ideal person to work up such a book (he could even put some of his wife'r talents to work, in such a project), and, in turn, such a project could augment nicely his cover for, say, a year.

3. For Headquarters consideration then, the following suggestion: Contact Praeger (who published Political Africa in the U.S.) or another appropriate firm, and lay on a commission to compile such a compendium of facts, figures and faces on the African scene. Have them in turn commission STEBONY/1 to do the job, and provide him with enough of an advance to help cover his needs for a period of a year, say, starting after STEBONY/1's summer in Algiers. (Alternatively, of course, STEBONY/1 could be instructed to come to Praeger with such a proposal, which we could encourage Praeger to accept.) This could run concurrently with STEBONY/1's news-letter, if it materializes, and without any apparent conflict. It could also afford him additional cover for travel and interviews, as well as funds. And a useful reference tool could result.

4. This is just a suggestion, but we'd like to know what you think of it.

George H. KATZENBACH

Distribution:
~~3-Chief, WE~~
2-Chief, KUDESK
2-Chief, AF
2-Chief, FE
2-Chief, LCPIPIT
2-COS, Algiers - Out Pouch
2-COS, Paris

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

CROSS REFERENCE TO: CS COPY

DATE TYPED: 11 May 1965

DATE DISPATCHED: 13 MAY 1965

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-43,110

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

14-00000

☐ YES ☐ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO
X-REF TO FILE NO.
FILE RID ☐ RET. TO BRANCH ☐
DESTROY ☐ SIG

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE TOTAL COPIES 6

71/30 SECRET

201-306052

RI ☑ COPY ☐

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PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

FROM ALGIERS

ACTION CI

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBED

UNIT TIME BY

INFO

VR. FILE AF 2, CA/02

11 Mar 65 IN 64377

SECRET 111100Z

LOND INFO DIR PARI PALP BRUS CITE ALGI 5878

LCHARVEST * (PRTN GRBLD-BEING SVCD) QKOPERA QRPREY

REF: LOND 7141 (IN 46013)

RE PARA 8 REF. SOURCE IN ALGERIAN DIRECTORATE OF INFO SAYS R... IS STILL HERE, ON PAYROLL OF DIRECTORATE ALTHOUGH NOT PRODUCING. CASE OFFICER SAYS SOURCE CAN PROVIDE SPECIFIC INFO ON SUBJECT IF DESIRED.

SECRET

CFN

*

AN SAFE | AF/1/A
RS | INDEX
ABSTRACT Y

SECRET

201-306052

FORM 1-64 1389 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS [redacted] RI COPY [redacted] RI COPY [redacted] (35)

14-00000

INDEX. ☐ YES ☐ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO
X-REF TO FILE NO
FILE RID. ☐ RET TO BRANCH ☐
DESTROY ☐ SIG.

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE 2 TOTAL COPIES 28

201 - 306052

27 SECRET

☐ COPY ☐ DUMMY
REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

1		5	
2		6	
3		7	
4		8	

FROM
LCPIPIT (PARIS)

ACTION
~~WE 8~~ CI/IC 2

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBED

UNIT | TIME | BY

INFO
VR. FILE ADDP, AF 6, FE 6, CA/O 4, CA 2, CI, CI/IC 2, CI/OPS, CCS 3, CI/OA, CA/PROP

S E C R E T 031055Z

DIR INFO LOND ALGI CITE PALP 3756 3 MAY 65 IN 57528

KUDESK STEBONY QRPREY

REFS A DIR 04341

B LOND 7341 (IN 55353)

C DIR 98974

1. RE PARA 2 REF A, RODIGAST (R) MOST INTERESTED THIS ASSIGNMENT. HE AVAILABLE FOR JUNE 1 INTRODUCTORY MEETING LOND. WILL POUCH SHORTLY OUR THOUGHTS RE COVER ACCOMMODATION, ADDRESS, ETC.

2. MEANWHILE LCPIPIT AND R AGREE WITH REF B PARA 4 POINT CONCERNING S/1-R MEETING ALGI. ALTERNATIVELY SUGGEST CONSIDER TANGIERS TRAVEL TO WHICH R CAN COVER AS TRIP TO DEVELOP FEATURE ARTICLE ON AMERICAN EXPATRIATE LITERARY COMMUNITY WHICH CONGREGATES THERE. CASA ALSO A POSSIBILITY.

3. HAS PRECISE TAPE DEBRIEFING MENTIONED REF C BEEN FORWARDED? PLEASE CABLE DISPATCH NUMBER.

4. NO INDEX.

S E C R E T

CFN

SECRET

8 MAY 1965

AF/2/A
ABSTRACT

201-306052

FORM 1-64 1389 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS RI COPY RI COPY (35)

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING

PRO-POSED	ACTION	ACCOM-PLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: Chief, WE

INFO: Chief, KUDESK; Chief, AF; Chief, FE; Chief of Station, Algiers; Chief, LCPIPIT; COS, Paris

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: STEBONY KUDESK QRPREY JAGUAR
JAGUAR Records on STEBONY

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Separate cover attachments to this dispatch are:

1 - A JAGUAR letter, forwarding
2 - A poor photocopy of STEBONY/1's passport, and
3 - A list of STEBONY/1's movements from 14 September 1962 to 7 October 1964, all derived from entries in the passport.

George H. KATZENBACH

Attachments 1, 2 & 3:
(USC)

Distribution:
3-Chief, WE w/att 1, 2 & 3 USC
2-Chief, KUDESK w/att 1 & 3 USC
2-Chief, AF w/att 1 & 3 USC
2-Chief, FE w/att 1 & 3 USC
2-COS, Algiers w/att 1 & 3 USC
2-Chief, LCPIPIT w/att 1 & 3 USC
2-COS, Paris, w/att 1 & 3 USC

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

201-306052

306052
~~201-128663~~

S/C ATT'D BY RI/AN
Dated 3 MAY 65

CA/cr

DATE TYPED: 27 April 1965

DATE DISPATCHED: 28 APR 1965

CROSS REFERENCE TO

CS COPY

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-43,000

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

1 att

SECRET

TO: Chief, WE
FROM: Chief of Station, London
Attachment No. 1 to OELA-43,000
27 April 1965

Richard Thomas GIBSON
Born: Los Angeles on 13.5.31
Address: 30 Stockleigh Hall,
Prince Albert Road, London, N.W.8.

2. As requested, I am now enclosing for your perusal a photocopy of GIBSON's passport, number B.131994. I should be grateful if you would return this to me at your earliest convenience.

3. I am also enclosing for your easy reference a list of GIBSON's movements between 14th September 1962 and 7th October 1964 which has been compiled from his passport.

4. Apart from a visit to Paris for three weeks earlier this year, GIBSON and his wife, Joy Marjorie, have continued to live with their two children at the London address shown above. On his return from Paris on 14th February 1965, GIBSON was landed for three months as a visitor. In April he was reliably reported to be still apparently unemployed.

5. The above information, together with a copy of the list of GIBSON's movements, is being sent to ODENVY/LOND

SECRET

To: Chief, [illegible]
FROM: Chief of Station, London
Attachment No. 3 to OELA-43,000
27 April 1965

Richard Thomas C[illegible]

United States Passport [illegible]

Issued 25.1.61 (valid 3 years)
renewed in London (valid for further 2 years)

Born 13.5.31 in California

U.S. address struck through

Foreign address: c/o Mr. Sidney Kaye,
3 Langland Mansions,
Finchley Road, N.W.3.

Passport not valid for communist controlled parts of China, Korea, Vietnam, or for Albania or Cuba.

		Passport Page No.
14.9.62.	Arr. U.K., London Airport, visit up to 3 months.	9
5.10.62.	Dep. U.K., London Airport.	5
23.10.62?	Arr. MOROCCO, Casablanca.	7
20.11.62.	Dep. MOROCCO, Oujda-Gare.	5
20.11.62.	Arr. ALGERIA, Zoudj-el-Beghal.	5
20.2.63.	Arr. SWITZERLAND, Geneva, air.	7
6.3.63.	Arr. ALGERIA, Maison Blanche.	7
[illegible].63.	Dep. ALGERIA, Maison Blanche.	5
[illegible].63.	Arr. FRANCE, Orly.	7
[illegible].63.	Arr. SWITZERLAND, Geneva, air.	7
21.4.63.	Dep. FRANCE, place illegible.	5
21.4.63.	Arr. U.K., Folkestone, visit up to 3 months.	9
[illegible].4.63.	Dep. U.K., London Airport.	9
[illegible].4.63.	Arr. SWITZERLAND, Geneva, air.	7.
[illegible].63.	Arr. FRANCE, Vallorbe.	8
[illegible].63.	Arr. FRANCE, Vallorbe.	7
[illegible].6.63.	Dep. FRANCE, Le Bourget.	9

/4.6.63. ....

SECRET

		Passport Page. No.
4.6.63.	Arr. U.K., London Airport, visit up to 3 months.	9
5.6.63.	Dep. U.K., London Airport.	9
5.6.63.	Arr. FRANCE, Orly.	7
6.6.63.	Dep. FRANCE, Vallorbe.	8
26.6.63.	Dep. FRANCE, Orly.	7
26.6.63.	Arr. U.K., London Airport, visit up to 3 months.	10
2.7.63.	Dep. U.K., Gatwick.	10
2.7.63.	Arr. FRANCE, Le Bourget.	5
[illegible].63.	Arr. U.K., London Airport, visit up to 3 months.	10
[illegible].63.	Dep. U.K., London Airport.	10
[illegible].63.	Arr. SWITZERLAND, Geneva, air.	7
[illegible].10.63.	Dep. FRANCE, Le Bourget.	5
1.10.63.	Arr. U.K., London Airport, visit up to 3 months.	10
3.10.63.	Dep. U.K., London Airport.	10
3.10.63.	Arr. FRANCE, Le Bourget.	10
27.10.63.	Arr. FRANCE, Vallorbe.	8
29.10.63.	Dep. FRANCE, Gare du Nord.	11
[illegible].10.63.	Arr. BELGIUM, ? Brussels.	7
[illegible].12.63.	WD/R Rubber Stamp.	11
10.1.64.	Arr. FRANCE, Vallorbe.	11
23.1.64.	Dep. FRANCE, Gare du Nord.	11
23.1.64.	Arr. U.K. Folkestone, visit up to 3 months.	11
26.1.64.	Dep. U.K., Folkestone.	11
26.1.64.	Arr. FRANCE, Gare du Nord.	11
1[illegible].2.64.	Dep. FRANCE, Vallorbe.	11
1[illegible].2.64.	Arr. BELGIUM, Brussels.	11
20.2.64.	Dep. BELGIUM, Brussels.	12

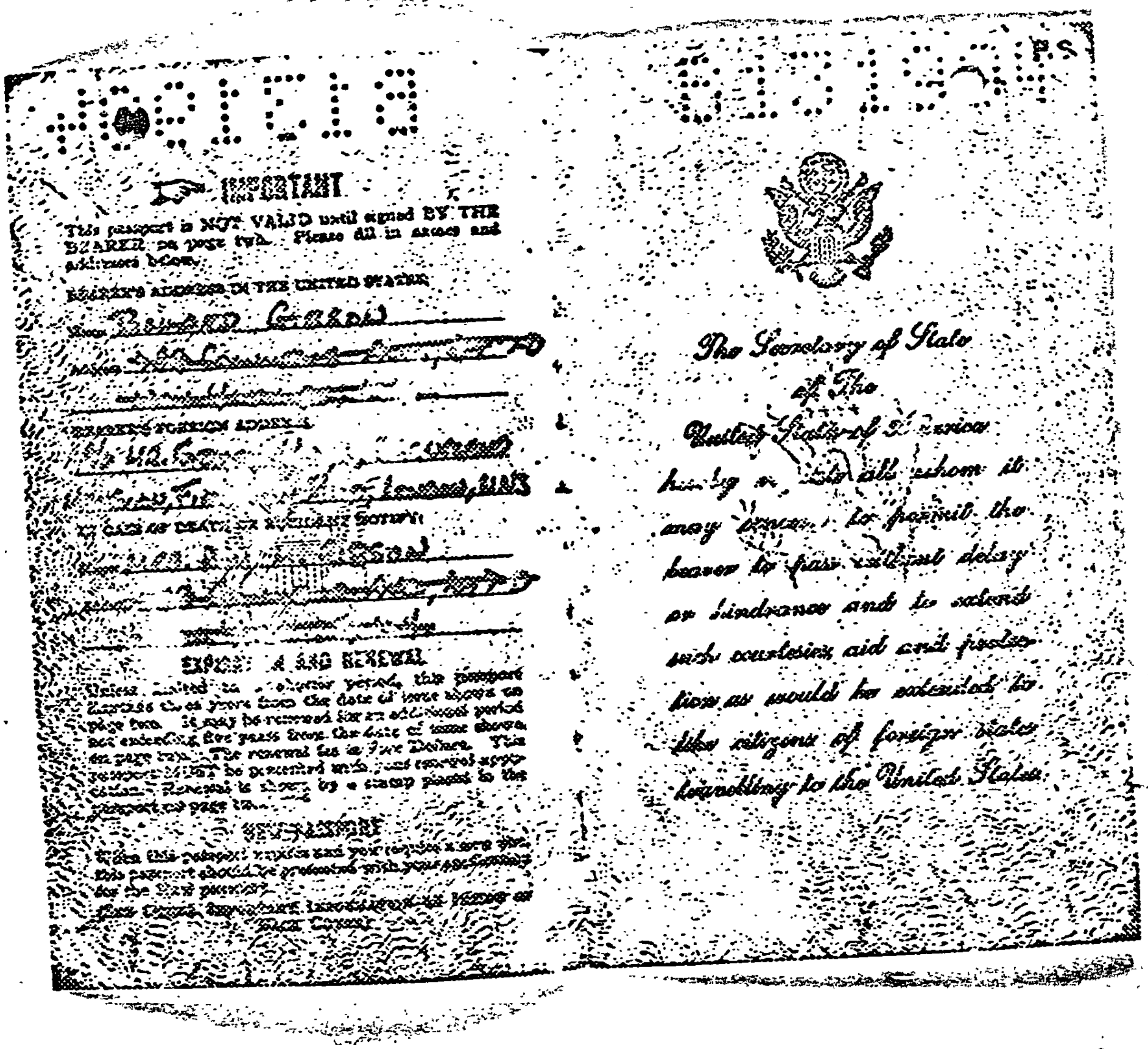
/17.3.64. ....

SECRET

		Passport Page No.
17.3.64.	Dep. SWITZERLAND, Geneva-Cornavin.	11
1.4.64.	Dep. SWITZERLAND, Geneva-Cornavin.	12
27.5.64.	Arr. BELGIUM, Brussels.	8
30.5.64.	Arr. FRANCE, Gare du Nord.	8
7.10.64.	Arr. U.K., Dover, visit up to 3 months.	10

201-306052

TO: Chief, WH
FROM: Chief of St[illegible]on,
London
Attachment No. 2 to
OELA-43,000, 27 April 1965


IMPORTANT

This passport is NOT VALID until signed BY THE BEARER on page two. Please fill in names and addresses below.

BEARER'S ADDRESS IN THE UNITED STATES

[illegible]

BEARER'S FOREIGN ADDRESS

[illegible]

IN CASE OF DEATH OR ACCIDENT NOTIFY

[illegible]

EXPIRATION AND RENEWAL

Unless limited to a shorter period, this passport expires three years from the date of issue shown on page two. It may be renewed for an additional period not exceeding two years from the date of issue shown on page two. The renewal fee is Five Dollars. This passport must be presented with your renewal application. Renewal is shown by a stamp placed in the passport on page [illegible].

NEW PASSPORT

When this passport expires and you require a new one, this passport should be presented with your application for the new passport. [illegible]

The Secretary of State of The United States of America hereby requests all whom it may concern to permit the bearer to pass without delay or hindrance and to extend such courtesies aid and protection as would be extended to like citizens of foreign states travelling to the United States.

14-00000

WARNING—Alteration, Addition or Mutilation of Entries is Prohibited.
Any Unofficial Change Will Render This Passport Invalid.

NAME: RICHARD THOMAS GIBSON	
BIRTH DATE: MAY 13, 1951	BIRTHPLACE: CALIFORNIA
HEIGHT: 5 FEET 10 INCHES	HAIR: BLACK — EYES: BROWN
WIFE: X X X	ISSUE DATE: JAN. 25, 1951
MINORS: X X X	PASSPORT RENEWED: PASSPORT RENEWED LONDON, ENGLAND. [signature] VICE CONSUL UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
SIGNATURE OF BEARER: Richard T. Gibson	

IMPORTANT: Unless Otherwise Limited
This Passport Expires Three Years From Issue Date.
If Renewed, It Expires Five Years From Issue Date.

Photograph of bearer



ATTACHED ... OF STATE

14-00000

THIS PASSPORT IS NOT VALID FOR TRAVEL TO OR IN COMMUNIST CONTROLLED PORTIONS OF

CHINA
KOREA
VIET-NAM

OR TO OR IN

ALBANIA

CUBA

"A person who travels to or in the listed countries or areas may be liable for prosecution under Section 1185, Title 8, U.S. Code and Section 1544, Title 18, U.S. Code."

4

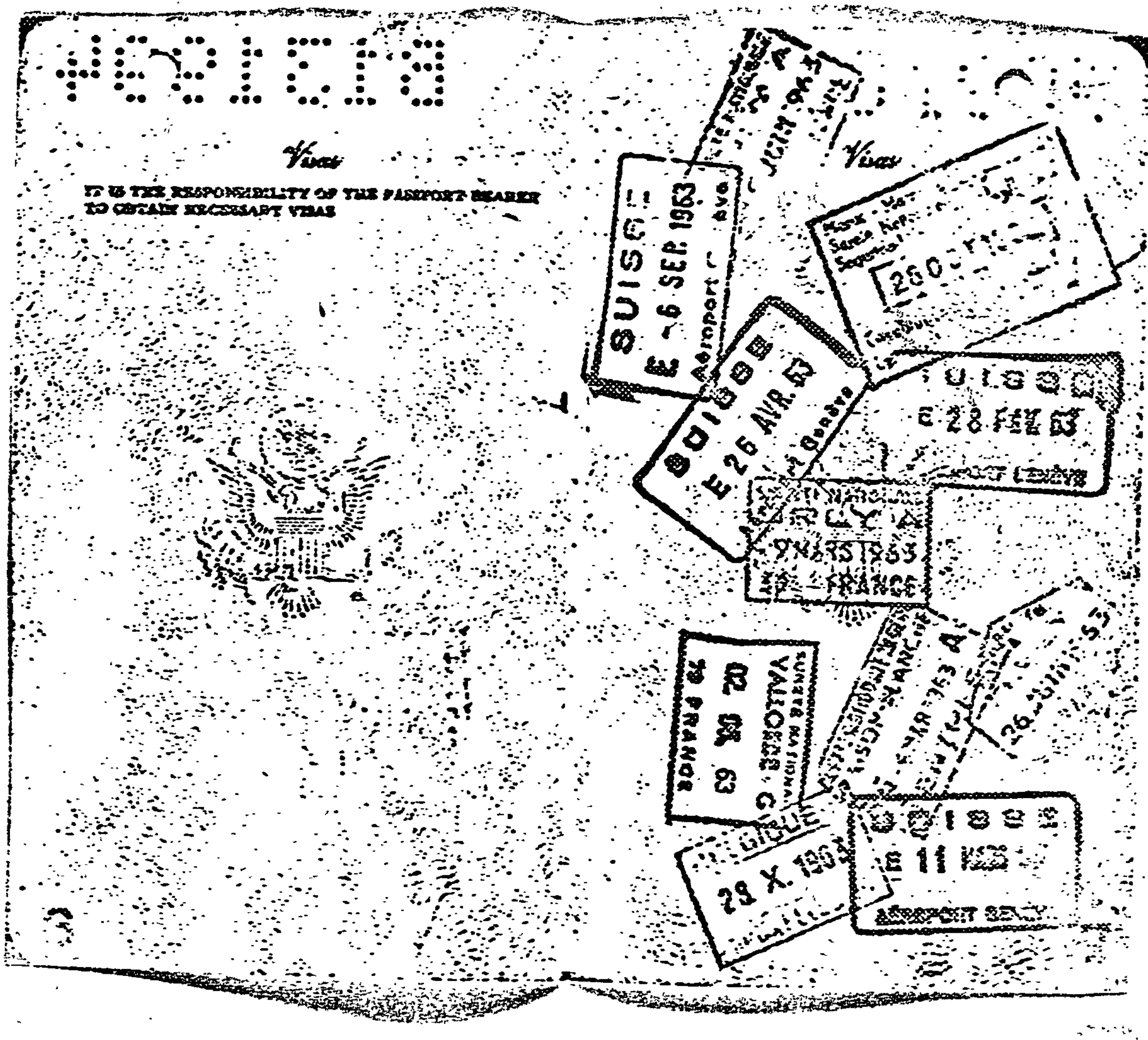
Extensions, amendments, limitations and restrictions

-5 OCT 1963
FRANCE

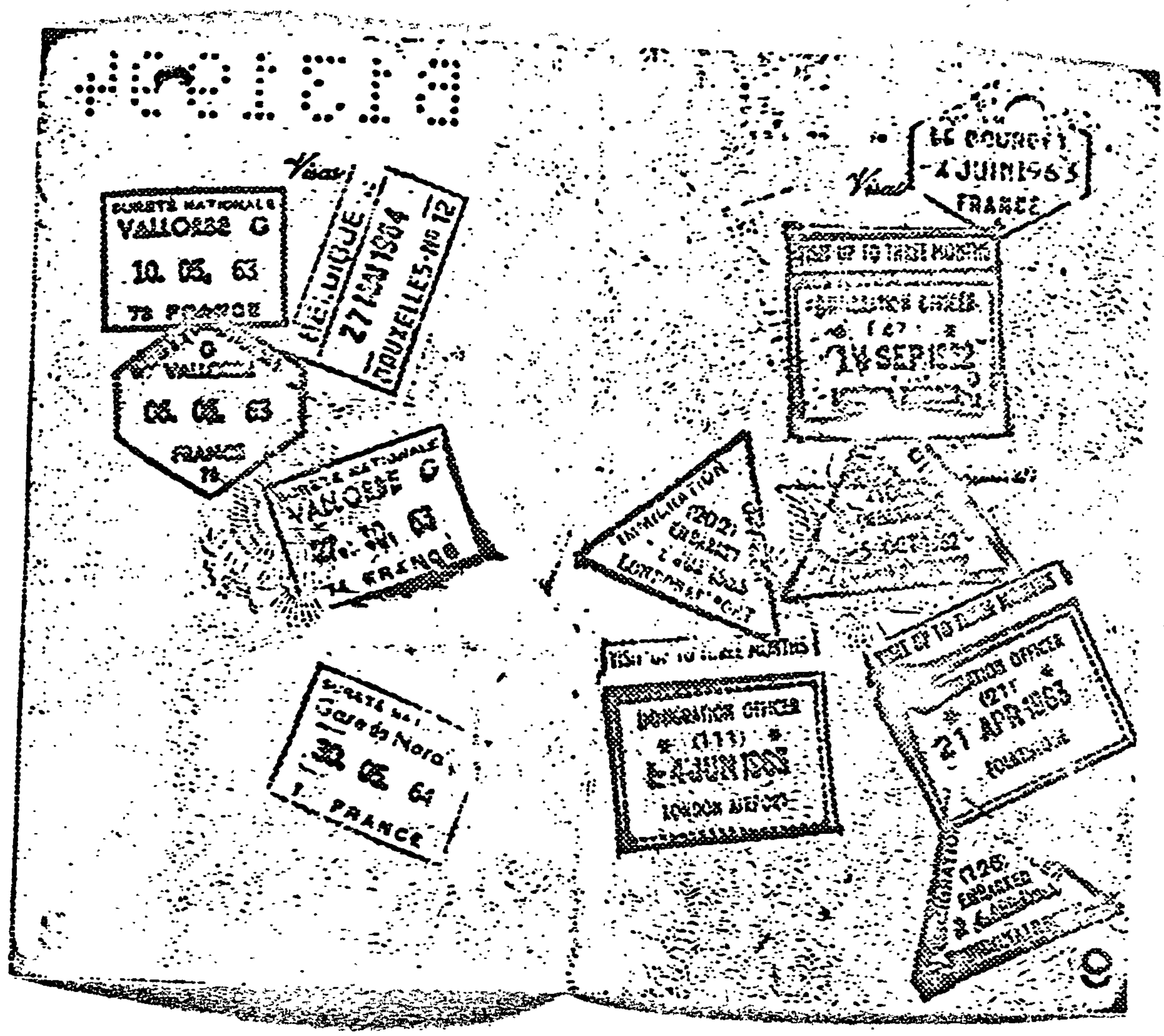
JUL 1963

NEW YORK

5

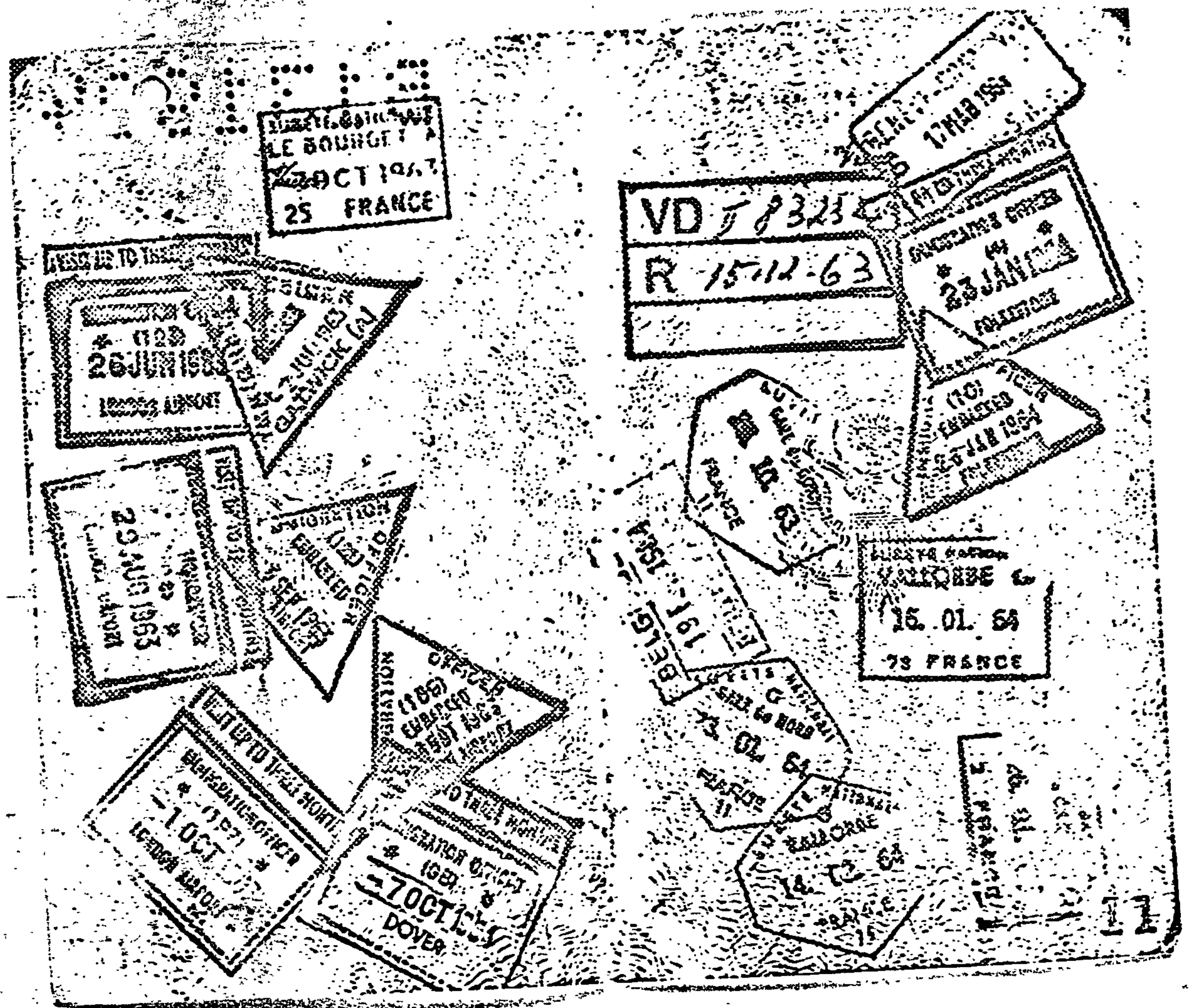

Visas
IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PASSPORT BEARER
TO OBTAIN NECESSARY VISAS
Visas
SUISSE
E -6 SEP. 1963
Aéroport
E 26 AVR. 63
E 28 FEV 63
9 MARS 1963
FRANCE
VALLORBE
02. 06. 63
FRANCE
29 X

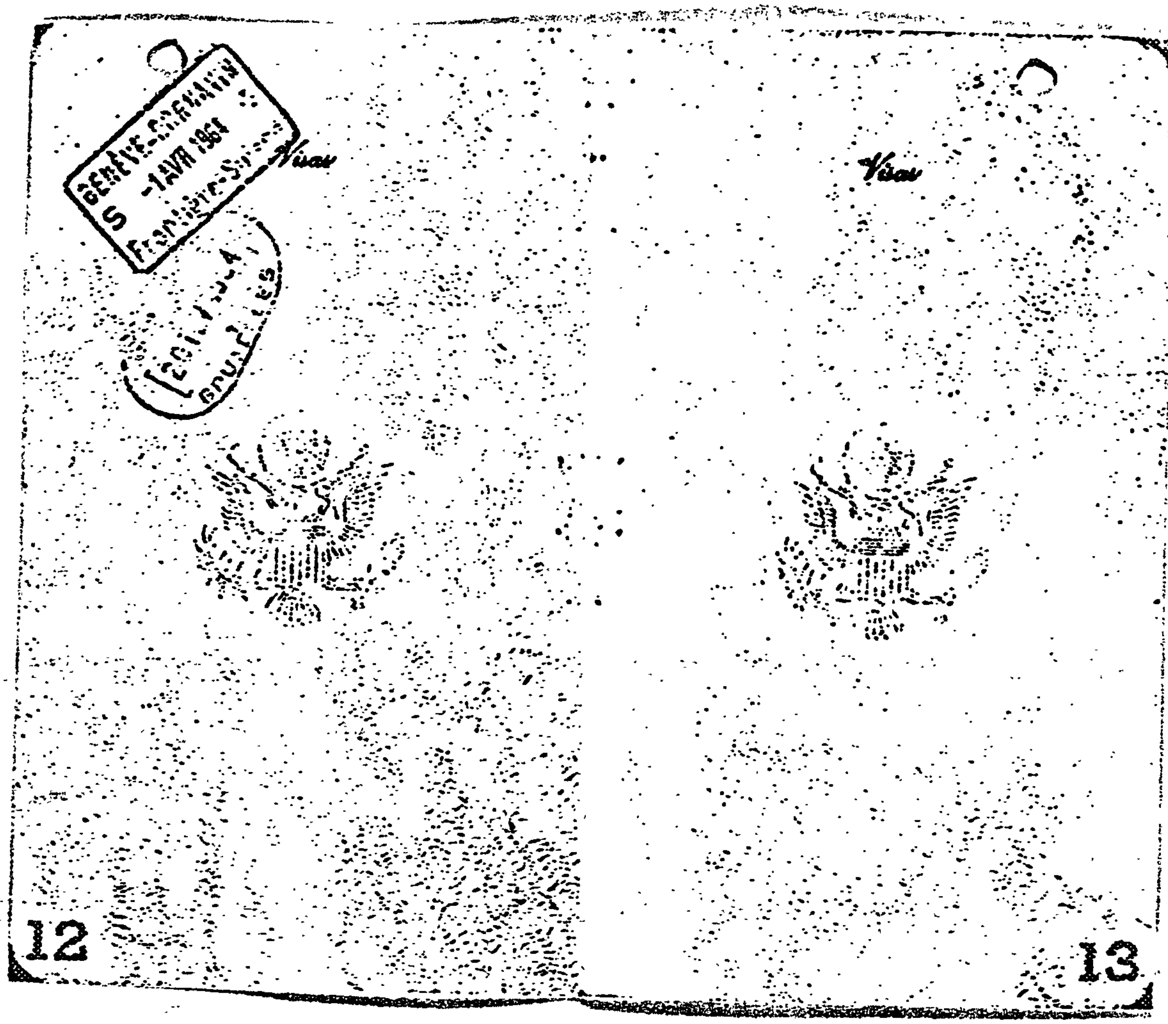
14-00000



SURETÉ NATIONALE
VALLORBE G
10. 05. 63
FRANCE
BELGIQUE
27 MAI 1964
BRUXELLES-No 12
Visa
VALLORBE G
FRANCE
Gare du Nord
30. 05. 64
FRANCE
IMMIGRATION OFFICER
LONDON AIRPORT
IMMIGRATION
21 APR 1963

14-00000


LE BOURGET
25 FRANCE
VD
R 15-12-63
26JUN1963
LONDON AIRPORT
GATWICK (A)
29 JUN 1963
16. 01. 64
73 FRANCE
DOVER


GENÈVE-CORNAVIN
S -1 AVR 1961
Frontière Suisse
Visas
Visas
12
13

46

ORIG: A. Goodrich
UNIT: CI/ICG
EXT: 1176
DATE: 22 April 1965

MESSAGE FORM

SECRET

☐ INDEX
☒ NO INDEX
☐ FILE IN CS FILE NO.

ROUTING 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

ABSTRACT
AF

23 APR 65 23 19z

TO: LOND

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: C1/IC2 INFO: C1, WE6, CA2, CA/PEG, CA/PROP, CA/O4, C1/OPS, AF6, FE6, FI, DO4, DO/H3, FI/INT2

TO LOND INFO PARI, PALP, ALGI CITE DIR CCS3, C1/OA, VR, FILE 04341

RYBAT KUDESK, STEBONY, QKOPERA, QRPREY

REF: LOND ~~7064 (IN 43053)~~ 7141 (IN 46013)

1. ON BASIS KATZENBACH (K) DEBRIEFING STEBONY/1 BELIEVE S/1 KNOWLEDGEABILITY CONTACTS IN AREA WHERE CURRENT KUBARK ACCESS THIN SUFFICIENT WARRANT OPS FOLLOW THROUGH. STILL BELIEVE THAT ALGI DURING PERIOD MID JUNE TO MID AUGUST OFFERS BEST TESTING GROUND FOR PROBATIONARY ASSIGNMENT AND POSSIBILITIES FOR S/1 DEVELOP NATURAL COVER FOR EVENTUAL LONG RANGE PENETRATION PRO CHICOM GROUPS AND INTERNATIONAL FRONTS.

2. FOR PALP: DESIRE RODIGAST (R) HANDLE S/1 DURING LATTERS VISIT ALGI AND PROBABLY AFTERWARDS, ~~IF S/1 SETTLES WEST EUROPE~~. WOULD HOPE THAT DURING PROBATIONARY PERIOD PARA 1 ABOVE, R COULD USE JOURNALIST COVER FOR SOME TRIPS ALGI TO COVER BANDUNG AND FESTIVAL. THIS SUPPLEMENTED WITH S/1 VISIT LOND OR PARI AND ONE WAY SW SHOULD INSURE CLOSE AND EFFECTIVE MONITORING S/1 CONTACTS, INFO AND DEVELOPMENT JOB PROSPECTS IN TARGET AREA. BELIEVE R CONTACT COULD BE KEPT ON SECURE ALIAS BASIS EVEN IN PARI ALONG LINES TPSHRIFT OP. PLEASE ADVISE CONCURRENCE.

201-306052

RELEASING OFFICER — COORDINATING OFFICERS — AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

SECRET

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14-00000

ORIG: A. Goodrich
UNIT: CI/ICG
EXT: 1176
DATE: 22 April 1965

☐ INDEX
☒ NO INDEX
☐ FILE IN CS FILE NO.

MESSAGE FORM

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Jun 21 11 PM '65

TO: LOND

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF:

INFO:

TO LOND INFO: PARI, PALP, ALGI CITE DIR 04341

AND AVAILABILITY R FOR INTRODUCTION AT LOND MEETING WITH S/1 FIRST WEEK JUNE. IF AGREE ABOVE, SUGGEST ALSO PALP DEVELOP ACCOMMODATION ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE PARI FOR S/1 CONTACT R IN FUTURE.

3. UPON RECEIPT POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM R, REQUEST K MEET S/1 AND EXPLAIN FOLLOWING:

A. ODYOKE INTERESTED AND GRATEFUL HIS COOPERATION AND HOPEFUL RELATIONSHIP CAN MATURE.

B. AS EARNEST OUR CONTINUED INTEREST WE EXTENDING ONE HUNDRED DOLLAR WEEKLY RETAINER ADDITIONAL FOUR WEEKS. IN ANTICIPATION OF POSSIBLE CONTINUED RELATIONSHIP, HOWEVER, WE CANNOT KEY SUCH PAYT TO SPECIFIC NEEDS SUCH AS KIDS TUITION. THIS PAYT CAN BE MADE IN LUMP SUM ADVANCE.

C. PRETEND K WILL BE ABSENT LOND UNTIL LATE MAY.

D. PRESENT THINKING IS THAT MID JUNE TO MID AUGUST PERIOD ALGI, WITH AFRO ASIAN CHIEF OF STATE MEETING AND WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL PLUS PERHAPS ALSO AFRO ASIAN WOMENS AND JOURNALISTS CONFERENCES, COULD OFFER VALUABLE AND APPROPRIATE OPPORTUNITY

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ORIG : A. Goodrich
UNIT : CI/ICG
EXT : 1176
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TO : LOND

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: INFO

TO LOND INFO: PARI, PALP, ALGI CITE DIR 04341

FOR S/1 CLARIFY HIS REPORTING VALUE TO ODYOKE AND HOPEFULLY DEVELOP LONG RANGE ASSOCIATION OF INTEREST TO US.

E. AS PRELIMINARY STEP WE WANT HIM USE NEXT MONTH TO LINE UP VIABLE COVER VISIT ALGI THIS PERIOD. IN ADDITION ANY NOTIONAL OR REAL HELP FROM BROTHER IN LAW, S/1 SHOULD TRY LINE UP FIRM AGREEMENTS WITH ONE OR MORE FAR LEFT PUBLICATIONS FOR ACCREDITATION TO COVER ALGI EVENTS. EXPLOITATION CONTACT WITH INDO EMBASSY MIGHT FACILITATE. (SEE PARAS 5 - 7 FOR GUIDANCE ON REF QUERIES.)

F. EXPRESS CURRENT INTENTION TO LINE UP DEFINITIVE MEETING WITH K COLLEAGUE 27 MAY TO HANDLE FURTHER ARRANGEMENTS. ARRANGE FOR S/1 CONTACT K 24 or 25 MAY FOR FIRM MEETING INSTRUCTIONS. FYI KUDESK STAFFER JOSEPH S TIFFANY PLANS TDY LOND 26 MAY FOR SHAKE DOWN OPS TALKS WITH S/1 PRIOR TURNING OVER TO R EARLY JUNE. THIS STEP CONSIDERED DESIRABLE IN ORDER SCREEN OUT K AND PBSWING FROM OPS FOLLOW THROUGH.

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Copy No.

ORIG: A. Goodrich
UNIT: CI/ICG
EXT: 1176
DATE: 22 April 1965

MESSAGE FORM

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TO: LOND

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: INFO

TO LOND INFO: PARI, PALP, ALGI CITE DIR 04341

4. BELIEVE NOW USEFUL BRIEF JAGUAR SMOTH OUR INTENTION DEVELOPING OPS RELATIONSHIP S/1. WE SHALL FORWARD SUMMARY ALL S/1 DEBRIEFING SHORTLY MOST OF WHICH CAN BE PASSED. IN VIEW POSSIBILITY S/1 WORKING WAY INTO SENSITIVE POSITION, PERHAPS IN DENIED OR SEMI-DENIED AREA, TRUST JAGUAR/SMOTH WILL TREAT CASE AS SENSITIVE FROM OUTSET. REQUEST JAGUAR COOPERATION TO SHED LIGHT ON S/1 WIFE AS POTENTIAL SECURITY PROBLEM AND PROVIDE LIMITED SURVEILLANCE S/1 CONTACTS OVER NEXT MONTH. COULD THEY SECURE PHONE TAP ON S/1? TRUST IT WILL BE POSSIBLE ENLIST JAGUAR/SMOTH COOPERATION WITHOUT NECESSITY ACKNOWLEDGING EITHER TIFFANY OR RODIGAST (LATTER NON OFFICIAL COVER) TO THEM. PLEASE ADVISE IF THIS ASSUMPTION INCORRECT.

5. RE PARA 1 REF PROPOSAL, SUGGEST K DISCUSS WITH SMOTH AS FUTURE POSSIBILITY. HOWEVER BELIEVE SECOND S/1 TRIP SUISSE AT THIS TIME WOULD LOOK SUSPICIOUS NOT LEAST TO NILS ANDERSON AND S/1 WIFE. MEANWHILE, IT WOULD BE GOOD FOR S/1 TO ATTEMPT RAISE FUNDS FOR <u>WEST INDIA GAZETTE</u> FROM LOCAL SYMPATHIZERS AND MAKE ARTICLE CONTRIBUTION TO PUBLICATION.

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ORIG: A. Goodrich
UNIT: CI/ICG
EXT: 1176
DATE: 22 April 1965

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TO : LOND
FROM: DIRECTOR
CONF: INFO

TO LOND INFO PARI, PALP, ALGI CITE DIR 04341

6. RE PARA 2 REF PROPOSAL S/1 SHOULD SHOP THIS AROUND AS AN IDEA BUT SHOULD NOT START ANYTHING YET AS EVERYONE KNOWS THAT EVEN MODEST EFFORT THIS TYPE IN PUBLISHING FIELD REQUIRES START CAPITAL OF WHICH S/1 CANNOT CURRENTLY EXPLAIN SOURCE.

7. RE PARA 3 REF, S/1 MIGHT WRITE A FEW LETTERS RECOMMENDING WILLIAMS BOOK TO PROSPECTIVE WESTERN PUBLISHERS.

8. PLEASE TA PAYT PARA 3 B ABOVE TO HQS YQHITCH ~~ALGERIA HQS FINAN ACCOUNT NUMBER 5138-1708~~.

AF/CCPS [signature]
AF/B&F [signature]
AF/1 [signature]
DC/WE/BC J. Roberts (in draft)
CA/CF J. Murphy (in draft)
CA/PROP J. Culbertson (by phone)
CA/3 S. Braham ✓
CO/IO J. Downes (by phone)

[signature]
WE/INT
RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

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GROUP 1
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[signature]
Lothar Metzl
C/CI/ICG
AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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14-00000

SECRET

14 April 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR: See Distribution

FROM : CA/CF; CI/ICG

SUBJECT : Richard Gibson

1. Areas of Knowledgeability. A reading of the transcription of Gibson's taped debriefing clearly underlines KATZENBACH's assessment that Gibson possesses an encyclopedic knowledge of personalities and groups ranging from Zanzibar to the U.S. It is not always clear from the debriefing to what extent Gibson enjoys either a first-hand knowledge or even a friendly relationship with specific individuals or groups. What is clear is that Gibson moves in a milieu on which we presently have very little coverage; that he is already a member of this loosely defined society and thus can be presumed capable of developing new contacts or strengthening old ones by means of present and past associations.

It is difficult to categorize or devine what this milieu is. It is not the world of communist parties -- although it contains a preponderance of communists; and it does not seem to be a society which necessarily revolves about the Chinese. The primary common denominator covering most of the personalities involved in Gibson's reporting is some association with the revolutionary movement in Africa -- particularly Algeria. A secondary means of characterizing these contacts is a correlation with the radical French and Belgian left which lies outside such organized party structures as the PSU, PCF, BCP. (His main access to Chinese communists runs through Jacques GRIPPA in Belgium and Nils ANDERSSON in Switzerland with whom he claims to be on good terms at the present time.) Another common thread, almost as general, is association with Trotskyism, although the meaning or clarification of this political description is never spelled out. In general, Gibson displays a good and often personal knowledge of target areas which might be grouped as follows:

a. African exile revolutionary circles in France, Algeria and London, including the PAC, ANC, MPLA, MPA, and other less organized pockets.

b. European leftist sympathizers of the liberation movement in Africa.

c. Algerians or Algerian contacts in Europe who were associated with the war for independence.

d. Algerian personalities currently active or occupying official positions in Algiers.

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e. The exile American Negro community.

f. Minor political writers and polemicists in exile leftist circles in Europe.

2. Access and Limitations on Access. There apparently has been circulated a charge that Gibson is a CIA agent. (This is reflected in his 201 as dating from his days with the FPCC.) In dealing with this question, however, KATZENBACH cites Gibson's own belief that he is still able to operate in the circles which would be of interest to us. It is, of course, difficult to tell from his debriefing the extent and seriousness of this charge against Gibson, insofar as it affects his bona fides. It does seem that in Gibson's milieu, gossip, personal attacks, muddled loyalties and an aura of conspiratorial confusion are everyday facts of life and that personal contact and effectiveness in building rapport would far outweigh such critical personal charges -- which, indeed, probably circulate about most people. At the present time, for reasons not entirely clear, Gibson feels that he would be unwelcome and restricted were he to visit Ghana, and, in fact, would not like to make such a trip. He has indicated, on the other hand, that he has friends in Algeria and believes he could probably get some kind of job there or at least find a receptive and generally friendly reception. He also appears to have some contact and standing with the Indonesian government, since he claims their London Embassy offered him employment. It is not known to what extent he might be able to parley such a contact into employment in Djakarta or some form of official association in Europe, although these questions could be explored further. The termination of his association with Revolution and Verges would not, according to his account of it, discredit him in the eyes of those who might have been partisans of the ideological line which this magazine purveyed. According to his account, Verges is not in good standing with the pro-Chinese like Grippa or even the Chinese, and that his (Gibson's) quarrel with Verges over unpaid salary is well known. While this may not be unbiased, it is apparently true that he has lodged a claim for payment against Verges, and thus is not in the position of having been expelled from Revolution for ideological deviation. As Gibson recounts it, it is Verges, not he, who is discredited.

3. Motivation and Readiness to Cooperate. The debriefing reflects between the lines what KATZENBACH judges in his covering dispatch to be a readiness to collect information for us knowing that we are an official agency and probably suspecting that we are KUBARK. His professed motivation is monetary, and frankly so, although a certain degree of fatigue with his past profession of ideological punditry is discernable. There are also a number of indications that Gibson would like to rehabilitate himself lest he be forced to make his living for an indefinite period of time in an environment that he finds both unpleasant and materially unrewarding. It is not possible, of course, to make an intelligent judgement from this debriefing on the firmness and consistency with which he

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might undertake continuing assignments for us, but this is not an unusual area of uncertainty with a new agent and one which a probationary period should dispel. (It should be noted that in one instance, he volunteered a name as an operational lead -- i.e., as someone whom we might find it worthwhile to look up. He also provided what is apparently an accommodation address in Bogota for Chinese mailings.)

4. Long-Range Usefulness and Initial Targetting. Gibson's long-range usefulness, of course, would depend not only on his effectiveness and dependability, but on the opportunities which will emerge and take shape as a result of his initial activity. As a general proposition, he can be viewed as an intelligence collection asset targetted at radical independence movements, pro-Chinese personalities and organizations, and official personalities in newly emerged countries, primarily in Africa. Specifically, these targets would include:

a. PAC and ANC: Gibson claims to have friends in both.

b. FLN and Algerian government and publishing circles.

c. Afro-Asian Journalists Association, and by extension, other Afro-Asian groups, such as exist or promised in youth, labor, women, and so forth.

d. Pro-Chinese European parties, including the Belgian (he claims to have access to Grippa), the Marseilles faction and the Swiss activity of Nils Andersson.

e. By extension from these, although at present only a remote possibility, developing Chinese propaganda and intelligence instrumentalities.

In the short range, a current assignment for us should meet the following criteria:

a. lend itself to probationary exploitation;

b. not tie Gibson down indefinitely to one location or involve him in an identification with one faction, group or party that would limit his later flexibility;

c. permit him to respond to targets of opportunity as we may define them, both to have a maximum test of the range of his capability and access, and to probe for the best long-range use we can put him to;

d. enable him to build his bona fides and his contacts as we may direct.

The best likely assignment to fulfill these requirements is that of a journalist, preferably operating from Europe, capable of credible travel in Europe, Africa and even Asia, with some associations which will preserve his bona fides with target Afro-Asian groups. Assuming the development of adequate cover, he could then spend an initial period this spring and summer in Algeria to cover the Second Bandung Conference (29 June) and the World Youth Festival (28 July). (Other international conferences, including followup AAPSO meetings to the Ghana Congress in May, an Afro-Asian Journalists Conference or further PAJU meetings cannot be anticipated as targets at present either because of indefinite planning or because of unsuitable location. There is little doubt, however, that additional meetings will take place in Algiers and Africa bringing together interesting target personalities from Africa and Asia whom Gibson might attempt to report on.) In addition to his contribution in coverage of these meetings he might also attempt to develop his access and contact among the official Algerian community at least with the value of developing biographical and operational support data.

5. Proposed for Discussion. The following questions seem to present themselves for discussion at this time:

a. decision on the continuation of support to Gibson on a probationary period;

b. determination on targetting for initial probationary and possible long-range employment;

c. mechanics of establishing a project;

d. timetable for assignments.

James M. Murphy
CA/CF

Attachments:
LOND-7065 (re tentative cover arrangements)
Partial list of names cited in Gibson's debriefing
Selections from the initial processing of Gibson's debriefing

Distribution:
1 - AF/1 Mr. Baker
1 - CO/SD Mr. Downs
1 - CA/B3 Mr. Raymond; CA/PROP Mr. Culbertson
1 - CA/PEG
1 - WE/INT Mr. Landreth
1 - WE/BC/U Mr. Roberts (w/o att.)
1 - CI/ICG Mr. Goodrich
1 - CA/CF Mr. Murphy

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FROM London

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INFO VR. FILE, CI, CI/OPS, CI/IC 2, CA 2, CA/O 4, AF 6, [redacted], ADDP, FI, FI/INT 2, FE 6

S E C R E T 121250Z 12 APR 65 IN 43053

DIR INFO PARI PALP BRUS ALGI CITE LOND 7065

LCHARVEST KUDESK QKOPERA QRPREY

REF DIR 98974

AF 1 A

1. STEBONY/1 (S), STILL UNEMPLOYED, IS PLEASED WITH PROSPECT OF ACTIVE SUMMER IN ALGI. WHILE WE REPEATED WE NOT READY MAKE ANY COMMITMENT BEYOND CURRENT MONTH'S RETAINER, HE NOW MAKING PLANS TO CONTACT POTENTIAL SPONSORS FOR PROLONGED VISIT ALGI. BEST BET MAY BE CONTACT WITH MONTHLY REVIEW RPT MONTHLY REVIEW. FRANCES KELLY (UK CITIZEN) WHO NOW IN LONDON WAS SECRETARY TO MONTHLY REVIEW WHILE IN US. HUBERMAN, WHO RUNS MR RPT MR, DUE COME UK SOON ON TRIP. PABLO FERNANDEZ OF CUBAN EMB HAS ALREADY SUGGESTED KELLY CONTACT S, AND S WILL INVESTIGATE POSSIBILITIES GETTING MR RPT MR ACCREDITATION FOR ALGI. STA POINTED OUT THAT SEVERAL SMALL OSTENSIBLE BACKERS COULD EACH BE PAYING S, IN ABSENCE ONE LARGE AND WELL-KNOWN OUTFIT. S WILL BEGIN SERIOUS CANVASS POSSIBILITIES, KEEP STA INFORMED, AND WILL NOT COMMIT SELF WITHOUT OUR OKAY. S EVENTUAL MOVE TO ALGI NICELY COVERED IF MORE PEOPLE AWARE OF HIS GROWING DISSATISFACTION PRESENT STATUS.

13 APR 1965

2. LOND DISSEMING (ZRWAHOO) TWO ITEMS FROM MEETING. HQS

SECRET 201-306052

FORM 1-64 1389 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS [redacted] RI COPY [redacted] RI COPY [redacted] (35)

SECRET

RID/HIS IN 43053 PAGE 2

Jun 25 3 53 PM '65

ADVISE WHAT SYSTEM YOU WISH FOLLOWED IN FUTURE ON SUCH ITEMS. SUGGEST ANY FOREIGN DISSEM CHANGE PARA. ADVISE ALSO ON PASSING SMOOTHERS. SUGGEST WE PASS AT OWN DISCRETION, ADVISING HQS IN EACH CASE.

3. OF POSSIBLE INTEREST, S MENTIONED THAT WILLIAM WORTHY RECENTLY ARRIVED DJAKARTA FROM CAMBODIA. INDONESIANS DID NOT KNOW HE COMING, UNTIL HE SENT TELEGRAM FROM CAMBODIA SAYING HE ARRIVING SOON. S AMAZED AT WORTHY'S ABILITY TRAVEL SO DISCREETLY, ESPECIALLY SINCE HE DID NOT APPEAR HAVE PASSPORT.

4. DID NOT DISCUSS DIR 88977 QUESTION, BUT S NOTED SCHLEIFER NOW IN NEW YORK. HQS MAY WISH REFINE QUESTIONS ON BASIS FORMER DEBRIEFINGS, OR WE CAN INCLUDE IN NEXT MEET. PLS ADVISE.

5. S FINANCIAL CONDITION DIRE. NEEDS 150 POUNDS FOR KIDS' TUITION. CURRENTLY LIVING OFF WIFE'S SMALL SALARY, BUT STILL HAVE TO PAY RENT AND TUITION. S CLOTHES OBVIOUSLY VERY SHABBY, HE SAID HE WEARING HIS LAST WHOLE PAIR OF PANTS. WILL NEED BUY SOME CLOTHES BEFORE HE GOES ANYWHERE. MAY WE GIVE HIM 150 POUNDS FOR KIDS TUITION IN ADDITION TO 400 DOLLARS AUTHORIZED?

S E C R E T

CFN

SECRET

14-00000

ORIG: A. Goodrich
UNIT: CI/ICG
EXT: 5928
DATE: 5 April 1965

MESSAGE FORM 34
SECRET

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TO: LOND

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: CI/IC 2

INFO: PARI PALP BRUS ALGI

VR, FILE, WE6, FE6, CA2, CA/PEG, CA/O4, CI, CI/OPS, FI, FI/INT 2, AF6

AF 1 A

TO LOND INFO:

LCHARVEST KUDESK QKOPERA QRPREY

REF: A. OELA 42750 (SENT HQS ONLY)

B. OELA 42410 (NOT SENT ALGI)

RICHARD GIBSON

1. ~~USBJ~~ SUBJ REF B (IDEN TO ALGI) ASSIGNED CRYPTO STEBONY/1. WE PROCESSING SUMMARY REF DEBRIEFING TRANSCRIPTS WHICH WILL BE POUCHED ADDEES MID APRIL. TENTATIVE APPRAISAL IS THAT S/1 OFFERS PRIMARILY KUDESK KUTUBE POTENTIAL IN PROCHICOM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FRONT AREAS. PERHAPS SERIES CONFERENCES ALGI THIS SUMMER ~~XXXXX~~ BRINGING TOGETHER KEY TARGET FIGURES OFFERS BEST OPPORTUNITY FOR S/1 DEVELOP NATURAL COVER AND GAIN NATURAL ACCESS TO TARGET AREA.

2. PENDING FINAL DECISION AND SELECTION CASE OFFICER FOR FUTURE HANDLING REQUEST KATZENBACH CONTACT S/1, GIVE HIM RETAINER FEE ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS PER WEEK FOR NEXT FOUR WEEKS TO INSURE HE DOES NOT TAKE ON FULL TIME JOB WHICH WOULD LIMIT OR PRECLUDE FUTURE OPS ACTIVITIES. DURING THIS PERIOD K (OSTENSIBLY ACTING ON BEHALF ODYOKE FRIEND WHO KEENLY INTERESTED IN INFO ON

201- 306052

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MESSAGE FORM

ORIG : A. Goodrich
UNIT : CI/ICG
EXT : 5928
DATE : 5 April 1965

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SECRET

TO : LOND
FROM: DIRECTOR
CONF: INFO

TO LOND INFO: CITE DIR

PRO CHICOM ACTIVITIES) SHOULD REQUEST S/1 SURVEY POSSIBILITIES JOBS TO PROVIDE COVER FOR ATTENDING SECOND AFRO ASIAN JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION (AAJA) CONFERENCE (CAN S/1 DETERMINE EXACT DATES?), SECOND BANDUNG CONFERENCE AND WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN ALGI. FOR EXAMPLE AS STRINGER FOR MONTHLY REVIEW AND/OR IN CONJUNCTION WITH AAJA. PERHAPS LETTER TO OLD FRIEND LIONEL MORRISON OF AAJA IN DJAKARTA MIGHT HELP. TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT INDONESIAN EMBASSY LOND MIGHT ALSO FACILITATE S/1 REENTRY TARGET AREA.

3. WITHOUT MAKING ANY COMMITMENTS BEYOND THE RETAINER SUGGEST K PUT RELATIONSHIP WITH S/1 ON CLANDESTINE BASIS. SPECIFICALLY MEET OUTSIDE PBSWING, GET AWAY FROM NECESSITY K TELEPHONING S/1 HIS HOME AND PROVIDE S/1 WITH MEANS CONTACTING K FOR MEETING TO REPORT ON ANY IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS.

4. REQUEST WINTERROWD DISCOURAGE FAIRMAN FROM PUBLISHING S/1 ARTICLE UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE.

END OF MESSAGE

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ORIG: A. Goodrich
UNIT: CI/ICG
EXT: 5928
DATE: 5 April 1965

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TO: LOND

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF:

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TO LOND INFO CITE DIR

WE/BC
CO/IO
AF/1
CA/CF J. MURPHY (by phone)
CA/PROP J. CULBERTSON (by phone)
CA/3 W. RAYMOND (by phone)
WE/3/INT. R. LANDRETH (by phone)

DC/NE
C/CI
RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

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C/CI/ICG
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ORIG :
UNIT :
EXT :
DATE :

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☐ NO INDEX
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TO : ALGI

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: C1/IC2

INFO VR, File, WE6, FE6, CA2, CA/PROP, CA/O4, CI, CI/OPS, FI, FI/INT2, AF6

TO ALGI RE DIR 98974 INFO:

CITE DIR 98975

IDEN: RICHARD T. GIBSON

RI COPY

END OF MESSAGE

AF 1 A

201-306052

W D Malloy CSDO for C/WE/INT

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	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: Chief, WE

INFO.

FROM: Chief of Station, London R.F.

SUBJECT: Richard Thomas GIBSON (201-306052), Memo of Understanding

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

1. Transmitted herewith are copies of a memorandum of understanding signed by GIBSON on 23 February 1965. The original is being retained in the Station.

2. Two receipts signed by GIBSON on 19 February and 23 February 1965, each in the sterling equivalent of $200, were forwarded to Headquarters with London's TA 5-190. We suggest that these receipts be obtained from Finance and incorporated in GIBSON's 201 dossier.

George H. KATZENBACH

Attachment:
Herewith

Distribution:
3-Chief, WE w/att h/w

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201-306052

DATE TYPED: 25 March 1965

DATE DISPATCHED: 29 MAR

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-42,807

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

1 ATT

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

14-00000

To: Chief, WH
From: Chief of Station, London
Attachment to OELA-42,807
of 25 March 1965

I hereby acknowledge that I have voluntarily provided information to the United States Government, for which I received compensation. I have no further claim against the United States Government for this activity.

I further understand and agree that the entirety of this relationship is confidential and that nothing relating to it will be revealed by me to anyone.

Richard Gibson

Date: 23 February 1965

ATT #1 to OELA 42807

CS COPY

201-306052

14-00000

SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEM

FROM: England, London

REPORTS OFFICER: Leroy T. WADSWORTH

REPORT APPROVED BY: Victor T. CRONEIGH

SOURCE: XXXXX JAGUAR

REPORT NO. OEL-40,731

DATE 19 March 1965

NO. OF PAGES 2

ATTACHMENTS

REFERENCE

COUNTRY: International

SUBJECT: Plans for the Sale of "Afro-Asian Journalist" in Europe

DATE OF INFO: 17 March 1965

SOURCE: Official British Service from "A reliable but very delicate source which must be given the utmost protection."

LONDON STATION COMMENT: Will Field Addressees please consider this report as for KUBARK BACKGROUND USE ONLY.

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Plans for the Sale of "Afro-Asian Journalist" in Europe

201-306052

Richard GIBSON, the former editor of the pro-Chinese Communist publication "Revolution", left London towards the end of January 1965 and returned in the second half of March, having visited Lausanne, Milan, Rome, Paris and Brussels. During his travels he met Nils ANDERSSON, who was formerly connected with "Revolution" in Lausanne and Jacques GRIPPA, the leader of the pro-Chinese dissident group of the Belgian Communist Party. Since his return to the U.K. he has made proposals to the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association for these persons to receive copies of the Association's publication, "Afro-Asian Journalist". He has also suggested to the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association that copies of the publication should be sent to the following:-

i. Bulletin d'Information Marxiste-Leniniste,
11, rue du Landry,
Clichy,
France.

ii. The English Bookshop,
42, rue de Seine,
Paris 6e.

iii. Nuova Unita,
Piazza Cavour 2,
Milan.

iv. Marxtisch-Leninstisch-Centrum,
Postbus 1505,
Rotterdam.

2. It appears that GIBSON is trying to establish contacts in Europe with the object of expanding sales of the English and French editions of "Afro-Asian Journalist".

17th March, 1965.

SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM

14-00000

23 MAR 1965

DISPATCH | CLASSIFICATION PRIORITY S E C R E T | PROCESSING

TO: Chief, WE

INFO: Chief, KUDESK; Chief, FE; Chief, AF

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: KAPOK
Richard Thomas GIBSON

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

PRO-POSED	ACTION	ACCOM-PLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

Ref: OFLA 42,706

1. Ref forwarded the tapes and a rough transcription of the debriefing session with Subject, which were held on February 17, 18, 19, 23, 1965.

2. In accordance with Headquarters' instructions, these meetings were kept on a don't-call-us-we'll-call-you basis - in fact GIBSON was given no means for calling us. Also in accordance with Headquarters' instructions, we did not pay GIBSON at a constant rate of over $100 per hour. The first ($300) payment to GIBSON was in fact more than we had originally intended to give him as a "binder", but in light of the imminence of his trip to Europe we advanced him that sum to help him to meet his expenses. This nicely coincided with our own time table, since the time he was gone - some three weeks - should have provided adequate time for the initial tape to be reviewed and for requirements to be prepared and pouched to the field. At any rate, the total sum given to GIBSON, for his time and a shot at his mailing list, was $700.

3. LCHARVEST may well feel that it has been done out of $700 in COA funds. The information obtained on ChiCom contacts of GIBSON, or on any ChiComs at all, was slight. GIBSON claims not to have had more than very little contact with them, and not to know too much about them. Unless there is hard info to the contrary, we are inclined to believe that GIBSON was telling pretty much the truth in this respect, as indeed seems to have been the case almost all of the time. While this is a bit of a disappointment, in a way, and seems to lessen the immediacy of LCHARVEST interest, it certainly does not appear to eliminate GIBSON's potential worth.

4. The London Station continues to feel that GIBSON has considerable potential as a source of positive intelligence on a wide range of targets - targets that appear to be only lightly covered otherwise, although we are not always able to judge this. A review of this debriefing can only cause one a certain amount of amazement at GIBSON's encyclopedic knowledge of many, many groups, personalities and parties of the far left, literally from America to Zanzibar. We leave it to Headquarters, of course, to evaluate

201-306052

Distribution:
3-Chief, WE
2-Chief, KUDESK
2-Chief, FE
2-Chief, AF

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CROSS REFERENCE TO

DATE TYPED: 15 March 1965
DATE DISPATCHED: 18 MAR 1965

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OFLA-42,750

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER

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PRIORITY
S E C R E T

his material; to the London Station, however, it appears to be not only rather massive but detailed as well. We do not doubt that he will be caught out from time to time on facts, and perhaps interpretations as well. But the totality of his information - and the whole performance was without notes - is astonishing.

5. Several points should be noted. First of all, a conscious effort was made to show GIBSON that his comments on the American scene were not being made a matter of record. (I took notes during our talk, and always stopped making notes when such a topic came up.) This is, as KULPA noted in OELW 1903 of 12 February 1965, an area of sensitivity with GIBSON. The only times that GIBSON really became emotional were when he talked about the American scene, his involvement, and the involvement of his close associates. And he kept reverting to the topic, and his involvement in it, throughout our conversations. We did not share KULPA's impression that GIBSON's dissatisfaction with the state of racial relations in America makes him generally anti-American. He does say that he would not like to be living in America for the coming year; but in the context of one who does not wish to be caught up in a period of growing violence, which GIBSON appears not to believe to be the solution to the problem. He states: "I can understand how they feel that way, I can recognize the problems, but I sure don't know what the solution to the problem is." His judgments on Negroes in the front of the racial struggle (Walter Bowe, Malcolm X, etc.) reflect not only an intimacy with the problem and a genuine concern, but also a generally reasonable and real understanding of many of the forces at work. GIBSON tends to condemn individuals - he spares no sympathy for the FBI, understandably - but he does not appear to condemn the United States as a whole, nor even the United States Government as a whole. At the same time, he makes no phoney protestations, either.

6. Regarding Cuba, GIBSON showed a similar emotional involvement (he acknowledges "my pro-Castro bias") but, withal, manages to give a more balances portrayal of the situation than many rabidly anti-Castro commentators. (Cuba, and Cuban matters, were also similarly low-keyed by me during our talks.)

7. Where GIBSON really comes into his own, and really astonishes with the breadth of his personal information and understanding, (and largely, it appears, without the same personal involvement and bias) is in African affairs (especially in left-wing fields), European Trotskyists and Communists and their general milieu, and Chinese-oriented international front organizations. Similarly he appears to be informed on certain ChiCom efforts at subversion and propaganda in Latin America.

8. Rather as if reading our thoughts, GIBSON offered to recruit himself. He didn't get too specific, and neither did we. But he did make it quite clear that he would be willing to collect information for us, knowing only that we were ODYOKE, probably suspecting that we were KUBARK, and probably equally doubting (because he knows the difference(that we were ODENVY. His motivations can be compiled from his own words. He has for some time been unable to find a suitable job here in London, He has economic pressures working on him - now exacerbated by the fact that his wife has caused her brother to withdraw some of the support that he had been providing. Venal? Opportunistic? Or someone who has a wife and two kids to support, and no job for the past eight months? GIBSON acknowledges that he has become somewhat bored with the "micro-biology" of chasing petty ideological differences, the kind that make factions of six members or less. At the same time, he acknowledges that he has to have a job, and that his access to and knowledge of these persons and groups are marketable commodities. His preference, he says, would be to have a nice quiet journalistic or public relations job here, but his efforts to find such a job have been fruitless. How, obviously, can one of his background and talents better employ them than as a collector and reporter of information? He says that he would like public relations or press work for the UN, perhaps, or an ODYOKE agency, but he is certain that he could never get the requisite security clearance. Still, obviously, he suspects that an "irregular" arm of ODYOKE, such as we, might be able to work something out.

9. How about his ideological motivation? We had hoped for some more concrete expression than we got, on this score, but what we have is not too bad. He states that he will not be "intellectually dishonest" to the point of becoming a "professional anti-Communist," by which he means a propagandist. At the same time, he agrees that he has no desire to be a professional revolutionary. Again we note that he is not blindly or unduly critical of ODYOKE. Granted, he criticizes many elements of ODYOKE policy and tends to defend some enemies of ODYOKE. A failure for him to do so would be sufficiently remarkable to make us totally suspicious of him. Note further his comment that he would havebeen perfectly willing to talk to us a year ago in Paris in the same fashion as he has here. This would sound rather suspicious and difficult to believe, were it not for the fact that he did show himself to be candid and cooperative in his Paris interview with a PBSWING officer.

10. How badly blown is GIBSON, then, if we are thinking of using him. After all, he has been publicly labelled a "CIA agent." Could he, then, work for KUBARK successfully? GIBSON himself is certainly a better judge of that than the London Station, and we feel that there are only two indices that can be used to judge the matter. The first and most immediate is GIBSON's own opinion, since he has lived with the problem, and has tested the idea in practice. He feels that he could still operate ("move" is his term) in most of the desirable areas successfully, provided he has adequate cover for being where he is and doing what he does. The second index would be for us to test his continuing access to targets of interest. It should not take too long to make such a test without putting anything into real jeopardy.

11. Cover for GIBSON, of course, would be a serious problem. He himself proposes the obvious answer: some kind of vaguely left journalistic tie-up. We should think that such cover could be arranged. And we propose to discuss a number of possibilities with Headquarters in due time.

12. Utilization and locale are most closely related, of course. From our vantage point here, it would appear that Algiers would be the most desirable home base for GIBSON. He could range out from there into Europe or the rest of Africa (the two best targets, apparently) and maintain a regular flow of information on Algerian affairs while "at home." He has spoken several times of the ease with which he is integrated into the Algerians environment, and he has a fairly well established base there from which to expand his operations. He has said that he would be willing to go there, or France, or most any other place where his children can continue their education in French. And Algiers appears to be, for the foreseeable future, a worthwhile target in its own right, as well as the site of a growing number of international front organization meetings, for which GIBSON would appear to have exceptionally fine credentials. As he says, he could go elsewhere in Africa, but Algiers is where he would fit best. We would be inclined to keep him, for the most part, away from the Cuban milieu (except, perhaps, incidentally) to avoid straining his reportorial objectivity. In the African, European, and international front areas, we suspect that careful checking would ensure such objectivity.

13. His utilization could best be considered on a straight information-collecting basis. To use him as a propaganda tool would be not only repugnant to him but destructive of his utility as well. Presumably he could be permitted to continue to write, not only for his overt employers (in a straight news fashion), but perhaps occasionally for leftist periodicals of his own choosing, in order to maintain his own cover. (This is, admittedly, seeing rather far into the future.) We do feel, however, that GIBSON could be an admirable and highly valuable collector of positive information on that whole spectrum of the left with which he is already so familiar.

14. GIBSON and security, to this point: GIBSON has met only myself, under alias, and under the impression that I was here temporarily. This idea was apparently made to stick, throughout our conversations. We would propose that, if GIBSON be recruited in fact, he be handled in alias and at a good, safe distance - more than arm's length. Until sufficient operational testing had been carried out, we would suggest that he not have a "resident case officer" anywhere - i.e., neither here nor in Algiers. Control of GIBSON is partly exercised by the documents we have received from him (receipts, memo of understanding) plus the voluminous taped comments. These, while not worthy of a court, are sufficient to do him considerable professional and personal damage - note particularly that his wife, according to him, would not approve of any of our contacts, and this appears to be quite meaningful to him. Financial control would be a continuing factor. And, perhaps to an unusually high degree, we feel that GIBSON would feel considerable gratitude to whoever (i.e., KUBARK) rescued him from his present and difficult position, "forgiving all", and providing him with a measure of respectability (at least in his own eyes) that he has henceforth been unable to achieve and maintain. In sum, we feel that a reasonably strong combination of control factors exist, and can be continued for as long as GIBSON would be properly handled.

15. We should also like to comment on the reliability of GIBSON's comments in the course of our meetings to date. We have found him to be thoroughly consistent in his comments and attitudes throughout. We found no indication of deliberate deception or serious attempts to mislead. He may have provided some erroneous materials, or he may have erroneously interpreted some events; but his comments and attitudes remained sufficiently consistent to lead us to believe that he was being reasonably honest all the way. He played down some items, no doubt, and played up others. In the course of a debriefing such as this was there seemed little or no point in pushing hard at such points - besides, his knowledge of the areas covered so far outdistanced mine that I could not have attempted to probe or pin him down on specifics. (Note also his tendency to make corrections in the debriefing questionnaire, as when the wrong name would appear for a political group in Switzerland.)

16. GIBSON's present status is that he is out of work, in debt, and without any prospects of reasonable employment in the near future. He is somewhat occupied with an article he is writing for Encounter; this will probably keep him from taking another job for the next few weeks. Beyond that, nothing is definite. If we would like to give him a try, then, some move should be made to formalize matters with him before he accepts some job that will put him out of the market.

17. Recognizing that there are risks involved, it nevertheless seems most undesirable to pass up what has the earmarks of being a highly useful asset. We request, therefore, that Headquarters review and consider the entirety of our knowledge of GIBSON to this point, and give us a reading on his potential worth, as viewed by LCHARVEST, AF Division, KUDESK/ICG and other interested parties. If, for reasons of which Headquarters is aware, and we are not, GIBSON is considered unacceptable as a KUTUBE asset, let us know. If, on the other hand, there appears to be a market for his talents and capabilities, we should move rather rapidly to pre-empt him. His present flexibility is not likely to last for long, and any plan to use him should take this into account. As WE/BC is aware, we are not in a position to put this into the form of a London Station project. This should not be the reason for neglecting what appears to be such a potentially rewarding asset for KUBARK, however.

18. We would appreciate a reply within a couple of weeks of Headquarters' receipt of this dispatch.

Kat

George H. KATZENBACH

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DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION SECRET	PROCESSING
TO Chief, WE		MARKED FOR INDEXING
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FROM Chief of Station, London		ABSTRACT
		MICROFILM

SUBJECT KUDESK/LCHARVEST
Debriefing of Richard T. GIBSON

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

1. Transmitted herewith are the tapes of the 17, 18, 19 and 23 February sessions with GIBSON. Also transmitted is a copy of the Station-prepared transcript of the tapes. The quality of the transcription varies: the first session is mostly summarized, the subsequent ones are almost verbatim. Roberta L. HORRELL did the transcripts, and I subsequently reviewed them, filling in comments, names, etc., that HORRELL had missed.

2. As rough as these transcripts are, a careful review of them is fairly revealing about GIBSON, and about his knowledge of the topics discussed. Further comment from this end will be contained in an operational dispatch. Right now we are anxious to get the present material into Headquarters' hands for further processing. This is about as far as we can take the material here, due to extreme time limitations. We are retaining a copy of the transcript, however, for further use and future reference.

George H. KATZENBACH

Attachment:
Herewith

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Distribution:
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1 - CO

Attachment filed CI/ICG 20 Mar 65

201-306052

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Jatt.

DATE TYPED	DATE DISPATCHED
9 March 1965	15 MAR 1965

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-42,706

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

I was in Rome when there was sun.
I had left Rome when the snow arrived.

I had a reasonably cordial reception almost everywhere. I got some information. I didn't push too hard. Where I encountered a little bit of suspicion but not very serious, was in Brussels, and actualy I think it was because Guyjou was so busy there. He said if I could have stayed on a few days, but I didn't have time or money to hang around. But I can always go back and see him again.

I went from here to Zurich, to Lausanne. The only reason I went to Zurich was simply because Nils Andersson claimed that the Swiss had, you know we had been expelled from Switzerland with the magazine, and he said that they had told him that I was interdit de séjour, that is, can't come into the country.

But I have been in the country numerous times since then; nevertheless I wanted to make certain. I know they know me in the Geneva airport. I went in the Zurich airport, and took the train there (for Lausanne). And there I didn't stay in hotel so that the local police would probably not know about it. They probably were aware, but they weren't going to bother, anyway. From Lausanne I went to Milan, Milan to Rome, Rome back to Lausanne to Andersson again, then Paris, and from Paris to Brussels and back here. Altogether it took three weeks. One could have taken much more time. Actually, it was more establishing of contact. I got some information for this thing I am writing for Encounter. In fact I got enough to do what I want to do. (I have to) first see what Lasky wants.

I would like to follow up - - to go on to Algiers, to talk to some more people down there - apparently they have got a lot more information about Verges. Or so they told Andersson,

of course useful if I'm going to play the money market. But for Algerian currency it was hard to find a buyer. The opposition has been the principal buyer of the new currency. In other words he daren't go out of the country when the change in currency came in hard cash for their people going in and out, were buying this currency. And this had created a more favorable exchange rate. In any case, at that time the exchange rate was hardly favorable and you had to give a sell order 24 hours in advance for the bank to find someone. And that was the thing. The money, he says that the exact sum in the bank he is not certain in that account. He knows that Verges's figure was around 75,000. He thinks that was fairly accurate. That is, 75,000 dollars in Algerian currency. The money was placed there between the end of July or August of 1962 and December of that year. In other words it was just after independence but during the period of struggle for power between the GPRA and the clandestine(?) group. Where he got the money from. As for the second $75,000, Verges said he had another account. He knows (Anderson knows) as he said before, nothing about this. And frankly doesn't believe it existed.

However, he does think that Verges has received small amounts of money, where from he doesn't know. The Chinese line is ending. In fact, you can tell from looking at the magazine the last editorial. He changes- The editorial is called Compagnon de Route, which means Fellow Traveler, This is just what he didn't want to be called. And it ends up by saying in French- en a fait des compagnons de route- - we're fellow travelers, we're for a united front of all the liberation movements with comprehension but without condescension. It's much more modest, it's a playing down of their own role. In fact some of the articles inside the magazine of course are not in line with the editorial. The editorial doesn't have Verges's style, either.

((Who do you suppose wrote it?))

That is very difficult to say. It doesn't to my mind seem to be the style of either. I would suspect that it was written by (?) but for what purposes. Grippa's people told me well, they considered this a favorable turn, that they were willing to accept Verges as a fellow traveler but as nothing more, and they told him that long ago. This is a power struggle. They told him that and what's more they're still not certain that they want to have anything to do with him. And apparently it's gotten to be the standard-- something that you demand-- they demand that people who come to see Grippa now are - forced to say "we have nothing to do with Verges; if we had something to do with Verges, we make our self-

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I would like to follow up. For instance, I would like to go to Algiers.

Apparently

some people down there that I could talk to. Apparently they've got a lot more information about Verges and so on. That's what they told Anderson.

Who told Anderson?

Oh, some members of the Algerian Foreign Ministry who, I think, is in Switzerland. He sees a lot of Algerians because he worked with them during the Algerian war, capacity. So he still sees them. He has kept on fairly good terms with them.

You turned up some information in your talks with Anderson.

Yes, some. You mean about source of funds. He assures me that the money was not as I thought it was; but it was in the form of Algerian currency. I thought it was in stocks and bonds. My assumption that it was in stocks and bonds was based on his statement that he used to say whenever we would ask him for money he would say, "I must go to the bank to tell them to sell." Now apparently what this meant was that they were holding the Algerian currency. You could deposit money in Swiss banks, held as currency in the deposit. I could hold in pounds. . and give a sell order. . this is

criticism. You know, we ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to do so, and we won't do this anymore."

A number of groups, apparently so. . You know, they have created the socalled Spanish Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist, and this was one of the conditions. There are talks going on in France between the ~~Tricky~~ Clichy group and the Marseilles group and that was one of, again, the conditions of the Marseilles people who were tied up with Kiener, that Verges had nothing to do with them. On the other hand there are talks between ~~the Tricky group~~ Clichy and a young left students, they call themselves the Drapeau Rouge group. It's a very small group anyway. That again was a condition. They put out a magazine, a news letter, called Drapeau Rouge which had been mainly written— it's one single edition- mainly written by Kiener. So obviously, the wind has turned very much against him(them). Verges has said, howver, strange things too. To Maspero, not very long ago at a cocktail party, he said, "I don't see why people reproach me for accepting the aid of African friendsand comrades- African comrades, no longer Chinese comrades. He also says that he admitted that they had made mistakes, that the magazine had been too sectarian, dogmatic.

((Verges said this to Maspero?))

Yes.Anderson told me that.

((When he says African, does he mean Black African or Arab?))

This is what we don't know. We have no idea who would waste that much money on him. First of all, who has the money, with which parties does he have connection. The UPC and the Cameroons, that split. The UPC and the Cameroons, a certain amount of money comes from Russia, other money coming from the Chinese, but very small amounts, because no one wants to pour money into this very divided organization. And he had contacts with one wing of it. I can't see them giving him any money. The Salaba Salawa party - in Niger, they also, according to Anderson, Mamani, who is one of their executive people, who is in Algiers, and who comes to Switzerland quite often,said that he no longer even bothers when he goes to Paris, to see Verges, that he sort of considered it worthless, sort of an adventurer, an opportunist.

The thing that was for me a bit frustrating in all of this was that every once in a while — — — — this that and the other, he has always had this equivoque, this doubt hanging over him. But no one has anything hard and fast about him. You can get- well in the past, what did he do. We know vaguely what he did, but nevertheless,what would you say that he did that would be really decisive and so on. It seems [illegible]

his ambition, but his ambition seems to shift from one thing to the other. You don't know exactly what does he want. When he started this magazine, obviously he wanted to play a role in Algeria and Africa. Driven out of Africa, he still thinks he's going to get back to Algeria within a relatively brief period of time, six months to a year. And he kept saying to us, "Oh, yes, we'll be back, we'll be back." He's already prepared a list of people he's going to have thrown in jail, or shot, (laughing) or threaten with firing squads and so forth. That fell through (going back to Algeria). And now, of course, I suppose it must be extremely bitter to him to see Bitat, who had been really, the closest, and Zora DRIFF, (they had) been his closest associates inside of Algiers, with exception of Djamila Boubired, but she doesn't have any real weight, politically, Bitat is back in Algiers, has made his peace with Ben Bella, and now represents, he's the General Manager for Volkswagen. (laughing)

Anderson's conversation with the Algerian (in Switzerland) about Verges was based just on Bitat. He said "Well, Bitat is going back. I suppose Verges will be following behind." He said (the Algerian), "No he won't. We have a file on him," what he's done. With money, in particular. Apparently they claimed that he had been dipping into the funds for years.

((This is the Algerian claim--)) Yes, that's what they told Anderson.

I think it's probably true. The funds of the Federation in France. You see he was, after all, a lawyer and then became the top lawyer of the FLN defense team in France, The legal defense team, and this meant that he had access to enormous sums of money. The FLN-- obviously an underground organization, even as well-structured a one as the Algierian one, in France, cannot demand very accurate bookkeeping. There were all sorts of very funny jokes about how the money was handled, (receipts) written on the corner of a newspaper for millions of old francs. And so under those circumstances — Verges himself has told us some things about this.

As for his connection with Khider, Anderson thinks that Khider may have helped him (Verges) to get money inside of Algeria, but he doesn't think that he got anything after he left and Khider left Algeria. In other words, he said as long as he was on the scene and formed part of this vague opposition to Ben Bella which Khider sought to at least unite on a few issues around himself, he may have received some money. But afterwards, he doesn't think he received any. He has no proof, of course. If he did receive [illegible], it would have been small sums given to Djamila Boubired as a token of friendship more than anything else. That may have explained her trip to Geneva, when she did bring some money.

That was in March or April, last year.

((What is the current financial relationship between Verges and Anderson?))

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FOURTH SESSION

23 February 1965
(morning)

14-00000

~~His connection with Khider. Anderson thinks he got no money after he left (Algiers).~~ ?

~~If any came it would have been small sums given to Geneva as expression of friendship.~~

A and V. V maintains A owes him money because offset press bought originally for Revolution. He was very careless about money. At one point asked A to buy a house. Evidently thought he had enough money for anything. They bought press which turned out to be useless.

A. then took it. A said he wanted it. Haggled over price. Then Vessel went to Brussels to sell the same press to Grippa; to play off Grippa and Anderson, because Grippa was also looking for an offset press. In fact, he did eventually buy an identical press, which is now installed in his place in Brussels. Anyway, Anderson did pay ~~paid~~ ~~bought~~ a certain amount. But they didn't decide price definitely.

But A. paid a debt to a printer Swiss printer (Gauguin) owed by Verges.

This printer has sued for 48,000 swiss francs. He has blocked Revolution's account at NMPP (Nouvelle Messagerie de Presse Parisienne). They had 7.50 francs in the account when he blocked it. They had a previous debt with a French printer.

Amount of money coming in from sales is very small. Verges has not contacted Gauguin to settle the matter. Gauguin could put the magazine out of existence. He has only to demand money and if Verges don't find it in 48 hours, Gauguin could force bankruptcy. But he wouldn't do that unless someone would guarantee he would get his 48,000.

Creditors wait, hoping they will get something.

To Guarantee Gauguin that amount of money, would be the best way to put Rev. out of business. I could do it myself if I could get the money. I could get a similar judgment and force bankruptcy.

Actual legal composition of the company found by my lawyer: Nouvelles Editions Internationale

22 Aug 1963, Verges through a lawyer deposited papers of corporation for a Societé Anonyme RL at 6th bureau Paris. capital of 10,000 new francs 8,000 held by Verges and 2000 by Maurice Sinet.

I thought there were at least five members but there were only two.

The money was actually deposited by a check through the lawyers guild.

There is 10,000 francs somewhere along the line. So Gauguin could get that much.

Company does exist but nobody is able to find it.

my current legal status- we are fighting for back wages. V ~~he~~ denies. then it goes before fact-finding agent. He said we were paid too much. Then he said we were incompetent – one look at the magazine disproved that. ~~says~~ they were "~~in confidence~~"

This continues to drag on. The lawyer in Paris is not energetic. Bro-in-law paid the lawyer 5oo francs. He probably thinks that is all he is going to get out of it. Question of programming Translations, etc. He shows lack of will power.

He is an orthodox Communist. He is very honest. But hates scandal.

probably thinks "they are out of France" so why push it? I don t think he has sold out

of Revolution I can do it in 48 hrs. Lots of people want Rev out of business. ~~Question~~ (?)

Question is where does Verges get the small sums necessary to keep going. He's paying at least 5 people full-time, plus the ~~[illegible]~~ printer.

Delduoca printed No. 12. it is a high powered firm. what terms of agreement?

13th issue has gone back to offset press, the old printer. ~~I~~ I don't know why.

I should have spent more time in Paris. I dont want to overplay my hand. The last thing I should have done was ~~Recognize need~~ to question people systematically.

In Paris only important contact is Valdes, Spanish. Gave ~~me~~ some info on Span[ish] groups. Claim[s] ~~they~~ Verges asked Cuba for money and got turned down. Cubans don't have much money. (SINÉ)

It's a Great shock to these people to find that Chinese aren't putting in money. It is always someone else, like ~~Pinot~~ Siné — [illegible]

Verges always indirect. doesn't want to ask anybody for money.

probably through Juan Arcocha, press & cultural attache, Paris, former sec~~[illegible]~~ retary of Carlos Franqui, editor of Rev[olucion, Havana]. Arcocha is very anti-Communist, hipped on persecution of homosexuals. Not necessarily one himself. Very interesting.

I did not see Franqui. I don't know where he is.

I was getting enough info for [my] personal needs. but didn't want to overdo it.

I do need a better story to travel around on.

Grippa generally was busy, lot of people around, obviously delegations, from where I don't know. there was a catastrophe, Something had happened. He is rather vague.

~~Shock~~ Sharp clash between Grippa and ~~Verges~~ V came on question of money. After many months, ~~Verges~~ V went to Brussels, talk ended abruptly. V said, "Grippa ~~he~~ went too far, laid down political line, etc. I rejected." But this came only after an exchange over the source of funds. Grippa asked ~~mx~~ Verges where he was getting his money, and Verges got huffy.

~~axSx~~ Delegate general said Grippa didn't believe any of the stuff Verges said about me. Predisposed to oppose ~~Verges~~ Verges.

(Verges will not confide to anyone - even Anderson - where the money comes from.)

Verges and Algerian money. ~~Hx~~ Did he just say, just tell them, that he got the money from the Chinese? Did he get it from someone in Algeria but he is afraid of disclosing.

He wouldn't tell the Chinese at Bern the source of his funds.

(Q: Verges debts total $30,000?) ~~B~~ Now he must have cleared away at least the big debt with the original French printer. I said 30,000,000 francs or about $60,000. ~~Castel~~ Kessel confirmed that it was about that amount. ~~Castel~~ Kessel and I and my wife worked out the estimate. I don"t rembmber the breakdown. Mainly Printing, photographs, paper, rent. We said between 30 and 40 million (old francs)

promissory notes. and having them countersigned by Jerome Lindon publisher of L'Editions Minuit

I have to leave around noon. my little girl at home by herself. Wife working in Tunisian Embassy, 14£ a week. She is (isn't) very happy there. Not much money, remember taxes.

Anderson: general background- he is Swedish, 32 years old, born in France of French mother and Swedish father. His parents settled in Lausanne when he was 6 months old. He was raised in Switz. had so little connection with Sweden that when finally had to go into Swedish army had to learn Swedish. Married to woman who is daughter of a prominent Conservative Swiss politician, may be a member of the ~~Federal Council~~ Parliament. Don't know his name. Husband does not see her parents. He chose Swedish nationality because most convenient, during Algerian war and didn't want to go into French army. Swiss nationality would cost both money and military service. Therefore took Swedish. In his youth he was involved with literary and dramatic groups, still has keen interest in poetry and drama. He is connected with Theatre Populaire Romande .His press serves mainly for material for them. About all he prints. He is forbidden to print any political material but he can print or have printed Chinese literature, which is classified as philosophical. He can't print October. That - now printed by Gauguin in Montreux

He has never incorporated name la Cité -

privately owned press and business, means personal risk.

He is distributor, mainly, for French books in Switz. Has some substantial debts.

Most of his things are not political (now) but ~~has some~~ literary. Not essentially a political operation. Has two employes, a secretary and a Spanish boy who takes care of the press.

He for a time very much involved with the FLN, how it happened don't know. He was one of their principal agents in Switz. Operated as far as Paris and Lyons. He represented Swiss end of ~~with~~ the support net work, to do tasks FLN couldn't do themsevles. Carrying weapons, money, etc. He operated the Swiss ~~end~~ base. Much material was smuggled over Swiss border at Geneva. With Henri LeClerc?

Through connection with FLN probably made first personal contact with Verges and with Maspero. He got into publishing from distributing through contacts with Maspero who was printing books. Algerians wanted these books to contenue coming out in French. They proposed that A print them. He took them to ~~Gandin~~ Gauguin who agreed to print and that's how he became a publisher.

He had no trouble. Swiss police thought his life was in danger. ~~From~~ the SBS.

Is he solvent? Yes. But his wife works as a school teacher. They have a car. They pay low rent. B All his operation is in one building - the Meisoye (?). Building of very mixed occupancy. His father and mother had flat in this building. The father and mother were decorators. Has office on upper ground floor and press on lower ground floor. His father dead. His mother remarried. Still a decorator.

Dont know just when A started this business. He began in decorating busines paper hanging, etc. Then got into poetry, etc. had a little magazine. He had some money and bought the distributorship of these publications. From that he went into publishing, during Algerian war.

October- Anderson and group around him, established in 1964, summer, after fiasco of the Swiss Communist Party. Extremely small group. I doubt if they have more than 30 people. Operate mainly inside of the PdT official Communist party- Workers' Party. Aim to convince the peop'e inside of PdT rightness of Chinese thesis and provide a rallying point for those expelled from the party. Print October in Italian, French & German

I estimate 30 to 40 people involved. Swiss CP has all of 15 people. Very weak organization. It might be discreetly financed by the Chinese. Though a little money handed over to Anderson. A is obviously no longer really the center of it. He was the initiator. Fact he is not Swiss may have helped. I feel he was gradually pulling back from political involvement. Is under close surveillance by the Swiss police - has been warned what he can and can't do. People even went up to Berne and asked for his expulsion. They got from Lenvey (?) very little satisfaction.

There still are numbers of Spaniards-- who come in he has Chinese and Albanian literature in Spanish.

Once they get out of Spain and can get this stuff they do go and look at it. MOR no longer exists - has been fused into new Spanish CP. They are just workers. Mundo Obrero Revolucionario produced on offset or mineograph, principally by Tiafer (phon) Tagleoferro in Anderson's office. Catalan. The two leaders are out of it.

Three groups: Vanguardia (?) proletario, Chispa group is third. That has two people according to Valdes. The leaders of the other two groups were expelled from this Lenin-Stalin party.

Don't think he still has distribution of October officially. Penguin prints it, he stores it. That's political. Its ok. This ban derived from the Revolution incident. Swiss authorities told us. We, could stay in Switzerland if we wanted to but had to get out of all political activity.

Don't know whether A still acts as a contact between various groups on the outside and the Chinese Embassy in Berne - couldn't tell. I feel that he is much less active than he was. He was not well informed about Italian group, (Nuova Unita)

He is in contact with Grippa/and with Maspero but very unhappy about the political line of Maspero's paper.

Andersson's wife: a silly woman -- self-dramatizes.

She went to Albania (anniv of Albanian rev.) and some other people from the October group. Went to reproach them for the aid they had given ~~Guiyard~~ Brilliard-Venvey. His wife does many things he can't do because he is a foreigner. She would act as his agent - did not go in her own right. He doesn't have much to do with Albanians. Her trip gave him a better impression. But she thought the Albanians were better informed about Europe and Marxist affairs party in Europe than the Chinese.

She at one time was a member of the central committee of the ~~French~~ Swiss Communist Party. ~~Maybe~~ Party only had about 35 members. Practically anybody who joined the party was immediately on the Central Committee.

~~Among~~ Andersson is

(1) known as the man in Switzerland to see if you want to set up a base for any kind of a revolutionary movement. Maybe this is how he got in touch with Espanarists.

There is a ~~Churiel~~ Curiel group - very active he had contacts with them. Rev Father Donde Dadsis? former worker priest, from Lyons, formerly with FLN now involved in Congolese, etc. rebel groups. Always gun-running - with missal in one hand, sub machine gun in other. Extraordinary priest. Had high protection in the Church, with Cardinal Gerlier (sp) of Lyons who recently died. When priest was arrested, money to help from Cardinal.

Some left the Catholic church. I would say this Algerian generation provides the basis for the pro-Chinese element within the left-wing youth of France. The ones who saw the total ineffectiveness of the Party in a colonial situation and who were, from idealistic reasons, disgusted with it and sought to make up for this failure on the part of the Communist Party.

Spanish, Italian, Portugese workers in Switz. Many are left-oriented and interested.

~~dxx~~ they are just workers.

~~Tifer~~ Tagliaferro, Catalan.

Marxist-Leninist Communist party made of the three groups- Mundo Obrero, Proletario, Chispa groups. Two members.

I can perfectly believe it.

cease any activities on behalf of Revolution which was felt as undesirable. Whether he is still a contact between groups on outside and Chinese Communists in Berne cannot say. He is much less active.

Much of this page appears on left page in fuller transcription.

all these movements di~nishing in size and impor~ace....

He may be going to Brussels. He is in contact with Grippa. I don t know about it. He is unhappy with Ma political line of Maspero's publicatios

Bruilliard

aid they had given ~~guillard~~.

Apparently that was ironed out. His wife does manythings that he can't do because he is a foreigner. She acts as his agent.

But he doesn't have much to do with Albanians, but her visit has somewhat raised the prestige of Albania in their eyes.

I think he would much rather deal with the Chinese.

He may have come in contact with the Spaniards through the Algerians.

He is known as ~~a~~ the man in Switz to go to see if you want to set up a base for any kind of revolution ary movement. Can give you advice, put you in touch with the right bunch of people to sell you arms, if that's what you want~~xxxxxx~~.

There was a group called Curiel, extremely activein all sorts of things. Curiel group ~~Curiel group~~. He had contacts with them, with the Rev Father Daney Donde, who is a Catholic priest from Lyons, former worker priests, involved with the FLN, very much on the left, now involved in various things, rebels, Congolese, always gun-running, with missal in one hand and machine gun in the other, but had very high protection in the church, his ties were with Cardinal Gesier of Lyons, who just died. He had ties with the Algerians.

Cardinal would be informed and money would be made available to take care of him.

Many of people from the were Catholic, just Catholic, some left the church. The Com Party didn't want anything to do with the Algerians.

Some are now in Algeria. Algerian gave basis for Chinese elements in leftwing youth of France generation pro-

ones who saw the total ineffectiveness of the Com party in France were disgusted with it and sought to make up for this failure ~~and sought to make up for this failure~~ of the Com party. I understand now that there is great conflict ~~not with~~ new generation in youth movement in France. As far as Spaniards concerned, suspect it came about that way.

A's contacts with the Spaniards were extremely broad, many not even Marxists, Spanish Social Democrats, some of them. Broad left spectrum. He published a book about ______ Spanish Workers. Bitterly attacked by Kien and Valdes. It wasn't Marxist at all.

A has fairly easy access to Chines Embassy. With Ambassador? No with a man named Chu, think First Secretary. He apparently is the one delegated to deal with Europeans, Communists and so on.

Don't know whether A has contact with other Chinese in Bern mission. Some Chinese came to him. Normally a question of publishing books. And a very modest type of thing.

14-00000

A has nothing to do with ~~NEAD~~ NCNA His basically with the Embassy.

He told me had an incident with the Sov First Sec. at the Cuban Embassy last Jan. The Sov heard his name. said are you ~~Swiss~~ English? He said, no, I'm ~~Swiss~~ Swedish. You must be the Anderson. Sov. told him he couldn't get away with that sort of thing long. An emotional outburst. Tried later to leave better impression- I admire what you have been doing, etc.

A is known. to the Soviets.

He has been in contact with the ... Party, with the Eritrean Liberation movement. That was slight. He is in touch with Curiel and company.

I'm not certain he is in complete approval of what Curiel group doing.

At one time Curiel group interested in something in the French West Indies. I understand that they were trying to send arms into Martinique and Guadeloupe - which arms one can get in Switzerland, and ship.

A was in contact with French West Indians. I don't know how far that went.

Here in London Curiel wanted to found a magazine last summer to be devoted to West Indies.

New published here, Flamingo and Daylight. Don't know whether Curiel has anything to do with it. There is a new one, Magnet. And said to be another one on the way. I've seen Dabois (?) in Algeria and Lausanne, as a courier-point, but I really don't know what Curiel is up to.

The Spaniards- I had no real knowledge onthat.

He is likely to keep up contacts with the Spaniards. Also has contact with the Portuguese - e.g. students in Lausanne knows what's going on.

~~There~~ He is mixed up with Angola, was involved with the MPLA.

He was disappointed when the exaggerated claims of the MPLA were exposed: i.e. their claims that they had planes, arms on the inside, etc. But they couldn't document their claims for the OAU.

Turned out a monstrous bluff. The UPA is a much more conservative organization; it did have a fighting force. And continued until quite recently to struggle. And that was when Viriato da Cruz and others switched from the MPLA.

Understand Dr. Neto still running around, ~~has contacts~~ with the Chinese.

He probably is in Algiers now.

A. has contacts which consist of merely being there. Anyone who comes to Lausanne comes to see him.

A. kept in contact with Verges when Verges in Algiers. He had cultivated the Andersons. Anderson doesn't tell me everything about Verges' money. Mrs. A. went down there to visit Verges. A. had full power ~~to~~ ~~so~~ of attorney to sign for the Verges bank account in the Union des Banques Suisses in Lausanne. This money went ... from November 1962 until probably Jan 1964. Verges claimed that A had taken money. Anderson claimed the funds were down to 500 Swiss francs anyway.

Verges sent Kessel to close the account. Behind A's back, and when A found out he was furious. Verges claimed he also had a second account in Geneva.

Anderson & Verges haven't seen each other since spring 1962.

CURIEL ? MUST MEAN QUERIELLE

In Oct of 62 before I went to Algiers, ~~but~~ when I came to Paris I saw Sinet who had ~~a~~ large amounts of Algerian curreency in his flat. it was indiscreet — the clost shelves were covered with bundles of Algerian currency: several million of Algerian francs.

I had met Sinet in New York when he came back from Cuba. He and his wife.

He came through FPCC office.

He asked me if I had time to help him change some of this money, which he claimed was given him by an Algerian friend who was going on a world tour, and had brought it from Algiers, but banks after independence did not want to change large amounts of Algerian money — would only take up to a certain amount. He was sending it by various people to airport, etc. small banks, to change a little at a time. At a one-for-one rate. This of course was prt of the money thatVerges got, I assume.

Verges had met ~~Finet~~ Sinet during the Algerian war, when and how I don-t know. Sinet had been closely involved with the Algerians during the war. But He was ~~xxxx~~ too conspieuous to do much in an open way. He may have given money and such. certainly helped in propaganda.

He knew Chandesli at the UN, and His Algerian connections very good. He was in contact with Ben Bella.

The Erench govt would never allow ~~Finet~~ Sinet to go to see Ben Bella but did allow ~~Finet's~~ Sinet's wife to go. When Ben Bella was suddenly released, he said he had no proper clothes. It was she who took clothes to Ben Bella when he was released, and went to Cairo. Rabat

In 62 when I saw Sinet in Paris I was thinking of going to Algiers. I was vague about. He told me all about Verges and someone named Maurice Masquino (ph.) who then was Editor of El Moudjahid, weekly, official organ of the FLN.

It was actually throgh ~~Finet~~ Sinet that I really got the job with Verges.

I had heard of him (Verges) and he apparently had heard of me, but I had never known him before. Sinet had proposed that I meet him then — in October — but I couldn't — I don't know why. He had gone to Morocco or something.

This was at the time between the struggle between the ~~GRA~~ GPRA and the ~~Tlemsen~~ TLEMCEN group for power in Algeria. And I don't know where he was. Again, he played a role in the transfer of funds. They needed money for a large parade. Verges carried the money ~~to~~ Morocco for Khider ~~to~~ Algiers.

July - First meeting with Verges about 15 minutes. Talking about an English lang. edition then of Revolution Africaine

Ali Buzuren, who then business manager, later sec'y of Algierian Embassy in Leopoldville.

First meeting (with Verges) was in November. 1962

Offices of Journal d'Alger had to be cleaned up. had been bombed. by OAS. get staff, etc. He (V) in meantime ~~when~~ went to Paris saw people connected with Maspero — Gerard Chaliand — to whom he proposed coming to Algiers as editor.

He was careful to make sure he had foreign editors not Algerian.

Revolution Africaine lasted 18 issues. I have the full file if you are interested.

why did Verges lost post.

The political section bureau was breaking up. Bitat & Khider disagreed with Ben Bella.

Khider was seeking to use his post as secretary of the party to ensure he had some sort of hold

but his middle class background used very successfully against him by

Ben Bella. Since he came out of this milieu of small shop-keepers and grocers and there were scarcities it was easy to blame Khider every time there was something short.

Everyone knew of Khider's speculation with money. Turned out he had

$12,000,000 in Switzerland, probably much more elsewhere.

Verges was originally the head of the African Section of the Algerian

foreign ministry. After the Tlemcen group came in. Due to his African contacts

He did not get along at all well with Khemisti who was then ~~was Ben Bella's~~ foreign minister.

He ~~then~~ at same time made contacts with Bitat and Khider, I'm certain, for money.

Ben Bella never gave approval, but other members of the political bureau did. And the money came from Khider — it was un-blocked by Khider, finally —

Fifty million francs in cash brought in to start magazine.

It went behind Ben Bella's back. Once it came out it was a fait accompli, and he didn't care.

Verges

He maintained later he didn't expect to hold out as long as he did.

Djamila Bouhired

His wife under Moslem law, was asked by Ben Bella if she would marry

him. She had ferocious animosity against Ben Bella, still has, I think.

So all this bad blood — frustrated desire — came into play.

When Verges was asked to go to the Addis Ababa conference he was not lodged in the Foreign Ministry, he smelled something fishy, and he begged off. Two or three days later he was called to party headquarters — It was already 60 people — and they

told him ~~was asked~~ to turn over everything to ~~a man named HARVEY~~. At 11 next morning,

That same evening he left by car, with Djamila Bouhired's uncle, went to Morocco and then he went to Paris.

He has connections in Morocco. as high as the Palace, so I understand, but I don't know who.

Verges always cultivated a myth of big connections. But he does

circulate in worldly circles. Claims contacts in Pompidou's office.

I never saw any benevolence from Pompidou's office, though.

obviously the money
Sinet had had

So he went to Paris and then he came to Switzerlandm and/then he started to set up — he had some money, obviously in France . . . and then he started transferring his funds from Algiers-from Lausanne - - transferred it on his person, on my person - no he never carried any money, but I carried some, and Kessel did too. Kessel claimed that he was actually stopped and searched and that he had this money in 500 franc bills in his hip pocket and they never looked in there. Any way, he did get the money in from Fracne. And he began publication of Revolution as a monthly in September of 1963.

((Had you known in advance what he was going to do?))

No. In fact, it was a question for a while, whether he would do it in Switzerland.

A wanted Verges to set up magazine in Switzerland. ~~Sinet~~ was very much against it. I'm certain Verges ~~may~~ never intedned to go to Switzerland

Hachi ~~Harvey~~ immediatey spread story that Verges had stolen something like

very upset when he heard that Verges was in Paris. He didn't like being connected with somebody who had stolen money. I called Verges and said he better get in touch with Andersson himself, better see him soon, because he would keep putting him off. The fact was that Andersson and I went to Paris. That's when we saw Verges. Verges placated him, said there was no truth in the charges. In fact, the charges were reduced. Harbi himself came to London. (The amount) went down, from 300 million to 200 million from 60 million to 50 million, and the whole thing was dropped. Buzerin, the business manager, was extremely indignant about the talk about misappropriation of funds and demanded an audit of the books. They found 6 million francs surplus. That was even more disturbing to them down there. ~~Rabbi~~ Harbi is supposed to have said "this isn't swindling; this is an affair of state." Buzerin was then given his clean bill of health and he went off to be secretary (of Embassy) in the Congo, in Leopoldville. On his way back last Spring from Leopoldville -- he was no longer going to stay there; I think he is in Algeria now-- he and his wife stopped in Paris and saw Verges. He had been in contact with Verges and he was very much tied, family-wise, with this whole Bitat-Zohra Driff crowd.

Our transfer/was simply that here we had been working for Verges personally. The money, there -in Switzerland, had been his money and the Algerians never made any attempt to get in touch with us. None whatsoever. There was a letter to Anderson from Chalion, who remained with the Algerians. There was an attempted phone call from them down there- probably Chalion or someone with the magazine- which Andersson refused to accept. So we really were never before the choice. In other words, he proposed (the work); we were doing what he proposed. He was going to continue and the Algerians had no coherent story about the money and what was going on. At that time they weren't interested in the English edition. Later, when it continued, they did produce in Algiers one issue of an English edition, an imitation of ours, which was very badly done. That was the last. They never did any more. That was edited by Patricia McGowan Pinheiro, who was involved with a a half-Anglish, half-Portuguese leader from Mozambique who allegedly-- his group is extremely small-- He was kept going by the ~~Filemo~~ FRELIMO people from Mozambique because of the fact that they needed a European to represent the progressive European element (laughing) for when the day comes for takeover by Africans- well, Carlos (her husband) was waiting for the day when Carlos will be produced as a genuine Mozambiquan of European origin. She was also involved with the Portuguese. She wrote a book about Portugal

~~(under the name,)~~ a man by the name of Peter Fryer, published it in 1962. I can't remember the title. She speaks Portuguese. May be- apparently is connected with the Trotskyist group.

The Portuguese, from what I understand is going on —

— I would like to get back to Algiers to see what is going on — as in Great (ferment - splitting - the Eldorado business was)

Just part of the iceberg that stuck up above the water. She was close to the Algerians. She produced this one issue. Then that flopped. She had been asked by Verges to go with me to Lausanne to be the joint editor of the edition in English. She refused because she wanted to stay in Algiers, stay close to her Portuguese group. She didn't think very much of me simply because she had set up the publication of the English edition , (which) was supposed to have been done in London. And then suddenly behind their backs Verges arranges it Switzerland. The British Communist Party was very much upset about the whole thing. They had thought that they might be able to have something to do with it, that they might take it over. They had a woman who was working for us here, named Rosalind Ainslie, South African, a European woman from South Africa, who obviously — she works for East Germ News

Agency here now — would have been their agent. It was even going to be incorporated here under her name. Verges was going to be the junior and silent partner abroad. Obviously he wasn't going along with that. This was the summer of 63. At the time of the break with Algiers, she was working as our correspondent here; (she) was extremely upset. She was holding £1000 of Verges' money. She didn't know which way to go. Harbi came here and talked to her. The whole thing fell through. Finally she chose the Algerians and then they dumped her. And she was forced to repay the money to Verges that she owed.

And so we then stayed on in Switzerland. We were perfectly content to stay in Switzerland. Out of the . . .

Verges wanted to move to Paris. He had little justification for a move to Paris. He was absolutely delighted when the Swiss expelled us. They gave us three months to get out. It really wasn't any expulsion. We continued it (the magazine). The editor and publisher were out of the country. Andersson had nothing to do with it. It was still being produced by ~~Gongim~~ Panguin, Only the English edition was banned. That was to prevent any further publication (in Switzerland, presumably). That's why it had to be done

SECOND SESSION

18 February 1965

(Tape starts a little late. G. had brought in bound volume of Revolution Africaine - all 18 issues - and we are discussing this when tape picks up.)

18 Feb 1965 10 to 11:30

It was essentially put together by Europeans, the magazine. The actual editor being Gerard Chalion which he got from Maspero who now works for a professor Bettelheim. These are the entire issues that were put out by Verges. all 18 of them. started 2 Feb. His last issue, (was later than I thought) 18th May.

I have two copies of these. I'm trying to sell these to the University of California. (Just as the last issue of Revolution Africaine ... at about $10 a copy) Don't know what I'll get for this, something between $25 and $50.00 for the full set. Verges doesn't even have this. There are three sets.

Andersson has one, I have two. I'm planning to keep one. Verges departed precipitously from Algiers - didn't even take a mailing list. This I got together in Lausanne.

~~Exapt~~

~~Expensive~~ I got them out of the binder.

Andersson had a file. ~~He distributed them.~~

I had to take Andersson with me to the binder to get them out. He kept one.

What I would like to talk to you about (is future work possibility.) (I have The Atlantic Monthly article to do.)

~~They want autobiographic article.~~

~~I don't mind writing about Revolution.~~

C/: Does this page refer only to the Algiers phase?
Do the 18 issues refer only to French ed, only to ENG. ed., or to both?
What year (2 Feb) & 18 May?

But what they want is a sort of autobiographical type of article. I don't mind writing about Revolution. Here's the problem. Once I write about-- it's all right for me to write about Revolution. Nobody will object about how far I go one way or the other. What I feel told you I could put in the public press generally, except for this about the other group, but in terms of Revolution itself there's no objection. However, if I have to go any further than that, that means that as far as I'm concerned most of these people will never touch me with a ten foot pole. As it is, what contacts I have, some are more delicate than others- - but I see that after this trip they could be built up again, after somehow finding some means of interviewing people relatively regularly. So what I want to ask you is, what sort of ideas-if any, you had in relation to me for future things; were you interested in my going, investigating anything further for you or are you satisfied with what little I know now. As I say, I don't think I know terribly much really, except incidental things which might corroborate what you know from other sources. Secondly, in terms of following up, if there's anything in particular for instance, I would suggest, the person to get the Algerian side of this story from would be Georges Arnault, the French writer who was in Algiers and who worked on the first issue of Revolution Africaine, after that never there was any more, the split with Verges, who now works in the Ministry of Information and remains fairly friendly (to me) on a personal basis and if that's what you're interested in.
who could get me a good deal of information on the Algerian side. again through and the Atlantic Monthly. Secondly there is a possibility that we might both try to cover the Second Bandung Conference.

Through who?

Date (?), the European representative of the Atlantic Monthly, and we might cover the Second Bandung in Algiers together. That's in June if it is going to be held at all. Soviet pressures and other pressures might ...

If you're interested in other things, you know, now I have contacts

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That's why I'd like to know/ ~~I don't know what -- really,~~ for instance - I've got a possibility - although it's a very slim one- just over across the street here. The Indonesian press office needs somebody. But I don't know whether——. These are little things. The people of the ~~Political Congress of Africa~~ Pan African Congress- South Africa, the PAC, they came to see me to know if I could help them a little here in London, in setting up their offices and handling their press campaign. Of course they haven't real money, ~~and~~

((That wasn't so appealing on that ground))

No, that wasn't so appealing on that score. And then also, they don't have a policy. They're sort of wavering between a policy which means telling one thing to the Congress for Cultural Freedom and telling another to the Chinese in Peking, which any nationalist group has to do, obviously. It's extremely difficult to get any kind of a straight answer even inside the organization. And they are going through a period of reorganization, after some highly scandalous, not political offense, but just plain misappropriation of funds, the usual thing that happens in many, many African organizations, it's incredible (laughs). But I think the people here in London, at least on the surface, are somewhat more honest.

((Basically, you're not interested per se, in staying in the same milieu.))

No, no. But I'm not interested per se, ~~let's~~ say, in becoming a sort of professional anti-Communist. That isn't——

((Not either way- either a professional anti-Communist or a professional revolutionist-))

(laughs) No, no. No. The two careers. Frankly, I do have a feeling. You know I feel very bad about someone like Walter Bow; I know his problems. Only I don't know how the hell to solve them, and what interests me is to see— again it is always a problem- what can the US government do - what will the people do now that they've got Walter Bow — — — —. To a certain extent I'm certain it was provocation, though Walter was game for anything. If you had gone to him and proposed to shoot the President, he would have said yes. Well, he would have thought about it anyway, and probably would have agreed. He would probably suggest that you'd ~~have to fight the~~ President and the Supreme Court along with it, you know. And he's not wild. He's a very sensible, moderate boy, except that he has such a— it's not a chip on his shoulder, he's got half of the forest, a redwood on his shoulder. He comes from, the papers say he comes from Philadelphia; he doesn't, he comes from Camden, New Jersey. I remember when he was playing jazz as a kid. I met him through this fellow in the Department of Agriculture

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I told you about, ~~XXXX~~ Haggard. He was a very good friend of his as well. Poor ______ he must be very nervous, down there in Agricultre, because he's known me personally, he's known Walter personally, they'll think he had some very strange friends.

Anyway, I'm certainly — you asked me for some information which I'm perfectly willing to give you. And if you had come along a long time ago and asked, in Paris, I probably would have given the same information. The point was that nobody seemed to want to know. I was talking to an American newsman-- I ~~was~~ wasn't running around peddling information, either- but I talked to people, sometimes saying just the opposite of what Verges was saying. He never really protested too much about this. He pretended that what he was doing was fairly on the level but it was fairly obvious that it wasn't. Anyway, I — what I want to know, if possible, in a relatively short period of time... I've got to make up my mind what I'm going to do. I don't know how I'm going to do anything, in fact, ~~but~~ But I do not intend, even for economic reasons, to do something which I think is absolutely dishonest, in the sense of writing an article, if someone asked me to write an article about Communist attractions for African students in France- in fact the Communist Party has very few ~~attractions~~ for African students in France. It's just the opposite. The ~~A Pay~~ FEANF ___, the ~~organization~~ association for African students, is very resentful of what they consider ___ and they would only love to be enticed and wooed. But ~~the~~ this American had ~~XXX~~ an idea which was based on some, on his own mythology actually, of beautiful French white girls being sent to lure these simple-minded boys. In actual fact that's not true at all. I'm perfectly well aware that people have written articles which bear no relation to reality, they think ~~of~~ what the hell, they want this sort of ~~thing~~, they pay for it. The Reader's Digest at one time was a regular market for that sort of thing.

~~pause~~ (( ))

But what's the point. It isn't true and even though it might- it isn't even good propaganda in the long run. ~~It's~~ a titillation ~~xxxxxx~~ value, especially the racial thing with sex thrown in- -

~~A~~ (What about your wife?)

Well, my wife, doesn't know - first of all, she knows of only once that I was seeing you, and she would highly disapprove of it. Not because my wife is a— has ever been a member of ~~any party, (including the~~ anybody's Communist party; it's just that she would feel that that would be a highly

[speaking of race and sex!]

at all.

the Encounter thing. She doesn't really like it. I hate to ~~[illegible]~~

Revolution and all— I don't see any reason not to.
She can accept that.

The fact is, the reason we have our financial problem, to a certain extent, is because her family is by no means poor. My brother-in-law who has carried us for months, has to pay rent, right this week and she has practically told him we didn't want any money. So now, there I am, you know. This has caused— I respect, I know what her problem is- very often children that come from ~~very~~ wealthy homes— ~~and her family—~~

She comes from the poorest branch of her family, which is quite wealthy in this country. It's an Anglo-Jewish family, has a sort of monopoly on kosher food prepared kosher food here, sort of like a Manischevitz operatio-n- or racket. One of the relatives is — they're all in business.

Her brother, one brother, is constantly having business ~~[illegible]~~ failures. He's a very nice fellow, and all, but at one point he made phonographs, now the last thing, he made tape recorders, a little transistor tape recorder, but that's just flopped too. The other brother, is a chartered accountant. He has his own firm in the City, ~~which~~ does quite well. He's married. ~~[illegible]~~

She gets along very poorly with ~~them~~ him. And while I was away, unfortunately relations deteriorated to such a point that I ~~[illegible]~~ don't know quite how I'm going to—

She's happy that she's got this job in the ~~Indonesian~~ Embassy. The only thing she's not happy about is the salary but she likes the job. — — —

It's not serious. The ~~Indonesians~~ spend most of the time telling her stories about ~~people~~ — — If I take a job this thing in the Indonesian Embassy the practically in a state of war with Indonesia. Although my wife is English that doesn't give me an automatic right to stay in England, not that I'm terribly (eager) — — — to ~~be~~ stay in England. I would much rather be some place on the Continent. I would much rather, for instance.. take a job with some sort of a bureau — — Obviously that's out of the question. I could never get a security clearance, but I think a job with some sort of international organization- The UN, in Paris, Rome, or Geneva, which would be for me, information — I'd be quite happy at that. As for working for an American outfit, I can't see much possibility either, except this ~~[illegible]~~ sort of free lance business, which could perhaps be extended. That I would certainly like, but ~~it~~ it is precarious— when you have - kids, and then what I feel pretty solid commitments here- and then 3000 miles of water in between—

((Let me see what I can find out. . soon as I can. . . now questions and answers. Who invited Verges to Algeria in 63))

He didn't go to Algeria in 63. He went to China. He was already in Algiers. He was in Algiers from the point of independence, that was in July of 62. And Verges arrived there with the clandestine group, that is, ~~clandestinely that is,~~ Ben Bella, Khider, Bitat, I suppose in October or November of 62. He was invited to China in March of 1963.

((How invited?))

The first time he went as the Director of Revolution Africaine and he (went with) Djamila Bouhired, the heroine of the Algerian War, and (there was) an enormous amount of publicity in the Chinese press was given to her. ~~They~~ In fact there had been ~~had~~ a book about her. She was well known for her part in the Algerian war and this is how he got the interview with Mao, as he was an official Algerian representative, the Director of Publications sponsored by the Political Bureau of the FLN, and, I think it was, The Committee (for) Foreign Relations, something like that, that handled the visit.

((When did he marry Djamila)) in process

Nobody knows. Nobody knows whether they are really married. This is again one of the things that he loves to keep a mystery. It is rumored, it has been said by a lot of people that he has a ~~marvelous~~ moslem marriage. We know he was converted to Islam. During the war, the Algerian War, he used the code name of MANSOUR for his contacts within the Front. After he came to Algeria, apparently he became a Moslem. and became J. M. Verges, Jacques Mansour Verges. Now he becomes Mansour Verges, then it becomes J. M. (referring to the magazine file)

((When he went to China. .))

Here he is back already. It must be about the 30th of March. It must be, because he and Djamila and my wife and I and our children left Algeria on the same plane for Paris when we left Algiers definitively, he changing planes in Paris for Moscow, and I going a day or so later to Geneva., and from ~~not~~ to Geneva, Lausanne.

(checking on name) He uses J. M. all the way through. ~~This was only at the~~ This is the last issue of his. There are sixteen issues here. He knew that he was under pressure and he tried to protect

himself. He put Djamila along with ——— and himself as a Comite de Direction ——— Number 1 and 2 to protect him from the wrath of Ben Bella but it didn't work.

(How long- we wont say when married- -)

It must have happened in the month right after independence. That's what I think. You see she had been held in prison, in France, she'd been sentenced to death and he had won her - well, he didn't win anything but he managed to keep her from being executed. In the course of this he became extremely close to her. Not only in sexual life. And this is very strange, his sexual life. I don't know if he has one, in fact. He has a French wife and the French wife has a child, a boy about 12-14 years old and he still is apparently married to the French wife. By becoming a Moslem he could take a second wife.

(Did he live with her- with Djamila B)

Never, really. In Algeria he had his own place and she lived with her family. When she comes to Paris she stays with him and actually they sleep in the same bed. So it's more than (platonic.) But I dont think that- - it's a sort of - a very curious relation it seems to me.

(If they were married, they were married when they went to China)

Yes. I don't know about how the Chinese treated it. They never refer to her as his wife. But that is done very often. He is very close to her family, her brothers. One is in Czechoslovakia, the other one was in Leningrad, I think, going to school. And it was Verges who arranged for transfers of money. Her uncle is head of the family. Her father is a terrible alcoholic and skirt chaser who has no respect from his children. He and his wife had a divorce. The father came to Paris and Lausanne once and caused us a great deal of difficulty (laughing). Anyway, Verges has family connections there. This marriage, that is supposed to have taken place, who saw it I don't know. Nobody knows. Even the father doesn't know. He said "Well, if she's married to him, why doesn't she say it. Why doesn't she tell even me."

He was never really accepted as a Moslem in Algiers. People thought, you know, you don"t take a man — a man who is a Communist or even— an ex-Communist, of his kind, he wasn't a member of the Communist Party, and convert him into a Moslem just like that. And yet there are certain characteristics of his behavior which are very strange to explain. One would say he did it for expediency, like going along with Ramadan, for instance, this is by no means pleasant, fasting- And even in Paris, he would fast during Ramadan. He used to drink rather heavily, I'm told. He no longer touches any kind of alcohol. And this he does all the time, whether there are Algerians around or not.

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optics,

And his perspective toward the Algerians. He was always talking of going back to Algiers, going to shoot Gerard Chalion, just because Chalion had double-crossed him with the staff. He thought, well, since I have these Europeans they won't be able to take over the magazine, so quickly? He's -very clever. He surrounds himself with people who are in a weaker position than he. Kiers, in other words, a little defense. — — — — have to be very strong willed. — — — — — things that took place in Algeria, other side, But Chalion made a deal with the Ben Bella people and kept the entire staff on.

((Revolution in Switzerland or Paris))

Once he saw that the old charges against him on account of the Algerian War would not be pressed, that the French Government had forgotten all this, that the Ministry of Justice had no intention of prosecuting not only him, but Francis Jeanson (celle ...) was sitting there. He was under sentence of death. And Jean — — — — , no one had ever bothered.

(Embassy?)

He claimed he had contact with somebody in Pompidou's office. He had- well the only person who worked with the magazine was somebody in the Ministry of Finance who writes under the name of Jalet. He does the economic section. I forget his real name-- maybe Roget. He handled Common Market things. That's why his articles for Revolution always deal with the Common Market. Maybe he writes one paper for the Ministry and another for Revolution.

((How long did Verges stay in Switzerland))

He never really stayed in Switzerland at all. He just came through there and stayed a few days, there. And he was traveling on an Algerian diplomatic passport. He still has one. I don't know how he went to Japan, because he had been very reluctant to reply to the demand- the request, for renewal of his ordinary French passport. It was quite possible to have dual nationality- French- Algiers. I don't know whether the Algerians (recognize) this. I think that he didn't have a normal Algerian passport, that he only had a diplomatic one, which should, I think, have been cancelled once he ceased to have any thing to do with the government. So he didn't want to travel on it. He wanted to come to London on several occasions but he didn't dare to try his Algerian passport. He could travel around much of Western Europe with his expired French passport. Most European passports are considered valid for five years after the date of expiration

You don't really need it anyway, just an identification. They will take an expired passport in Common Market countries, up to five years.

How he got to Japan I don't know. He may have finally applied for a French passport. I thought that he still wanted to maintain the fiction of his Algerian nationality, by not making any request for French passport. In Japan he was called the Delegate from Reunion(?) and no mention was made of Revolution. There has never been, to the best of my knowledge and the knowledge of Andersson any mention in any Chinese publication whatsoever of Revolution, and they have mentioned all sorts of two-bit publications that they have financed lock, stock and barrel. And yet the Chinese did purchase it. I understand they do not purchase it any longer. And according to Andersson contact between the Chinese group and Verges in Paris has ceased.

((When))

As of last month.

((When they ceased purchasing))

According to Andersson. He says he has heard it from other people. He doesn't know from Chinese sources. He did tell the truth (was) in Berne, I had written a letter to the China Quarterly about the article by Feito on Verges, refuting what Feito said, Asking what he thought of that. And he replied that they had no objection but they thought it was about time that somebody ended the fiction... that they thought Revolution was extremely embarrassing to them.

((How long did the English language edition stay with Andersson))

The English language edition was produced in Switzerland for the first year, the entire twelve issues, And was printed in Switzerland on the press of this Mr. Garguin in Montreux. And Garguin was introduced to Verges by Andersson. Andersson paid him and so forth. But Andersson didn't have any official connection with Revolution as of November I think, December, of 63. I went back and forth and Strelkoff, who did the layout and art work, went back and forth to Lausanne and saw Garguin almost every month, once or twice a month, from Paris. But once I left Paris, the bank account was closed down - I mean, shortly thereafter, by Kissel who came in behind Andersson's back and closed the account at the Union des Banques Suisses.

((That ended the Swiss production))

No, the Swiss production continued, but Andersson had nothing to do with it from that point. The twelve issues of that year were printed there.

He represents nothing. He's a sort of hopeless person. She's a very dynamic woman. Verges claimed that she had become a police informer for the Algerian police, and that she talks to very opposite groups and to occasionally, to Mamani of the Salava party in Algiers. But she no longer has anything to do with Revolution Africaine. She didn't have anything to do with Verges after the moment that she refused to go to Lausanne.

((Why))

Why did she refuse to go? Well, she couldn't leave Carlos there by himself. God knows what would happen to him. Secondly, she wanted to be in the spot in Algiers. She wasn't interested in running a magazine in Switzerland, the magazine interest was secondary to her.

There was another Portuguese-speaking person in Algiers. That was a man by the name of Aquino Braganza. Braganza is a Goan and Goan who has lost his reason for being with the end of the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa, he should have gone back! But he had been a Goan revolutionary with the Portuguese opposition. For years he had been in Rabat hooked up to the, at that time it was the CONCP, Conference Nationaliste des Colonies Portuguese, which grouped together what later came to be the Falimo and the MPLA. It was part of the hard line countries. There was another one elsewhere which was soft line. Braganza was also sort of adviser to the magazine Revolution Africaine on questions of India and so on. He stayed on and worked with Mohammed Harbi and came to London.

((Did he have anything to do with Patricia Macgowan))

Yes. They had been together in Rabat.

((Did he have anything to do with Carlos))

Yes. It's all the same crowd. But Carlos was waiting for destiny to call him and Braganza had already lost his chance. The Indians had got in. They'd liberated Goa, so what next, you know. Go back to India. He obviously wasn't going to go back. He was living too well, as it was. What was he going to do in Goa, nobody knew him in Goa. He was a Goan educated in Portugal. One of these people without a real national identity. He knew that he wasn't Portuguese and had this feeling of alienation from Portugal, which made him like most of the colonials students there-- the MPLA really started in Portugal- made him an oppositionist. He didn't have enough roots with the homeland. So he's just sort of floating around. His wife is a school teacher. He speaks excellent French. He was working for Revolution Africaine. I don't know if he still is. I'm certain he'll find something to do. He'll never go back to Goa.

((This points up the need for a continuing revolution, when the revolution is completed))

Yes. You don't have jobs unless you're in the government. And that's a problem, too. In his case, he never really did much, wasn't even a real revolutionary, just a bureaucrat in Rabat and other places.

((How did Macgowan get involved with Verges))

That I don't know. I don't know how he knew her in the beginning, I imagine he met her in Rabat. He used to go to Morocco quite often and had contact with all the African, people there. I suspect that's where he met her.

((So much for those guys))

Now you've got Harbi. He was the person who replaced Verges. He's out now, but I'm told by Andersson, who has his ear to the ground in Algiers as well as in Switzerland, that Harbi is still in a very good position. He is one of the leading advisers to Ben Bella, represents the Left position. He's a Trotskyist, or a Trotskyist sympathiser without any formal organizational ties. He is very close to the Pablo group. That's Michel Raptis. He's Pablo, we could'nt have overlooked him, he's a feature of Algiers life. He played an extremely important role in the agrarian reform, in determining the type of agrarian reform that was going to be carried out. He came down on the Yugoslav model, that is collectives which are privately owned by the collectives and run on the profit model, that is on a profit basis.

Harbi, they were all inside of this Bureau des Biens Vacants which then became the Bureau of the Socialist Sector. I once did an article for Monthly Review, about how it operated. What really happened was that the Europeans fled just before and just after Independence, should have, considering what they had done. They had expected a blood bath. The blood bath never took place. It was incredible.

That was one of the most incredible things to me in Algeria was that the Algerians didn't — — — — ——

Because the stories were horrifying. You know what happened. A month or so before, they (the French) were just shooting everybody on the street, trying to provoke them, and the discipline of the FLN was incredible. Nobody would shoot back, no matter what they did. So they fled and left all these farms.

It was a question of ploughing and seeding. There is only a certain time of year that you do this. This had to be organized and it was organized almost spontaneously locally. This was institutionalized later, an accomplished fact. They wanted some sort of a socialist system of agriculture. They

didn't know how and the institutionalizing of it was really directed by these Trotskyists. There was Pablo, Harbi, a French lawyer named Matthieu from Grenoble who had been involved with the FLN, and he became sort of legal adviser of Biens Vacants, which was vaguely under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture which was at that time under Omar Usgam ____ who is now Minister of State, and Director of Revolution Africaine at present. He replaced Harbi.

Harbi is deeply resented by the army elements which are pro-Egy Egyptian. However, the Army, despite its religious inclination, had its socialist bias and would like to see more centralization, more on an Egyptian model. In other words, they would like to see much more control from the center than this confused type of regional or local control. They feel that in the long run the business of the private collective ownership is going to cause trouble. It's all right if it is a rich one, but what happens if you are in a poor one? You don't split profit, you split a deficit. Obviously, according to the Yugoslav model, the state intervenes. The State taxes the rich ones and then distributes subsidies to the poor ones, but this a debate that is still going on in Algeria. Curiously enough these Trotskyists have been in contact, very close contact, with the Yugoslavs. As you recall, the campaign, the so-called campagne de labeur, the ploughing, was made possible only by the delivery of 500 Yugoslav tractors which turned out to the great deception (disillusionment) of some of the Algerians not to be Yugeslav but to be American tractors put together in Yugoslavia under license.

((This is getting us a little bit far afield))

This is Harbi and this is the group. Harbi represents the leading (within the FLN) spokesmen of this sort of Trotskyist-leaning Left group, and his post is still very high, even though he is no longer Director.

((When was he dropped))

I think last summer. I'm not certain. With Usgan it has become much more ________________ the word Socialism appears in Arabic because it is felt that Socialism in French doesn't have the same meaning as it has in Arabic. It's very silly, it represents the very muddled mind that Usgan has. He is very much split between his religious (and political) inclinations. Usgan is a full member of the Communist party of Algeria but he left for natonalist reasons when they refused to support the rebellion, and joined the FLN. His wife is supposed to be fanatically religious and has made him more religious than he was.

(Curious mix-up - - this religion and politics.)

(Returning to our first subject, Strelkoff. Is he a practicing Jew?)

No.

(Just an ethnic Jew)

Yes.

(Next on the list here is Robert Williams. Whoever made this up calls him an American in Peking.)

But where was he now

He's in Havana. He was in Peking recently and he may still be there, for that matter. He went on a second trip to the Far East. He was in one of the countries that had a celebration. I think he was in Hanoi, if I'm not mistaken. He was in Asia. He may still be there.

Robert Williams is a Negro, former President of the Union County North Carolina branch of the NAACP, who had a hell of a battle on his hands against the local KuKlux Klan and discovered the the best way to deal with the KuKlux Klan was to shoot back at them. And it worked. They never had seen it, in that part of the south, anyway, the small towns of the South. Up until recently there's been sort of gentlemen's agreement in the south that the Negro civil rights groups would go into the big cities, where they would be reasonably protected. But they had to leave the rural areas alone because they couln't expect much. Williams of course, was a great embarrassment to everybody, there is no doubt, and they were on his back. He got no sympathy from the NAACP leadership. He first came to national prominence after a case of obvious injustice where a white man had done something to a Negro woman and some local jury had thrown it out. He said, "well if we can't get justice in the courts we'll have to take justice in our own hands." But even the fact that Negroes would fight back got the older, more conservative Negro leaders very upset. People came to his support, particularly the Trotskyits, not the Communists, came in, and tried to take him over. They did give him some support. There had been a case before, another case, locally called the Kissing Case. Two Negro boys, you may have heard of it, were sentenced to indefinite terms in prison for having kissed a six-year-old white girl. He was involved in that and again, it was the Trotskyites who came to his support, with other liberal groups. In terms of organizational support it was the Trotskyites. I heard of him at the time I was in CBS and I thought that it was very understandable and sent him a message of support. I met him at the time of the NAACP Conference in New York in 1959 and when the FPCC was formed he was among the eight Negroes who were among the 30 founding members, to the great shock of

of the Communist Party of the United States, which did not particularly approve of seeing the two issues mixed, Cuba and the Negroes.

Williams, very volatile, a very determined person, on a local level, has no ability whatsoever on a national level. He has become a symbol now to Negro youth in particular, as a Negro who is not an Uncle Tom, who will fight, but We knew what was coming in the summer of 61, ~~perhaps it was before. . no~~ obviously was embarrassment, for the national executive of the NAACP, embarrassment for the Justice Department, and more than embarrassment for Terry Sanford, who was the Governor, and who told him, "I wish you were dead. Period." Finally, by one of these flukes of fate, there was a demonstration over a swimming pool. They (the Negroes) didn't want to integrate the pool. They just wanted to swim in it. But the local people said they didn't want to do that because they would have to change the water, and it would take too much time to change the water after Negroes swam in the water. So they had some demonstrations. Williams was almost murdered on one of these occasions. The demonstrations were getting pretty violent. And then King sent in some Freedom Riders who were going to show them how non-violence was going to work in this town. They decided to make an example. So Williams said, "I'm going to get out of this. I don't want anything to do with your non-violence. But you go ahead and I'll see what happens."

Well the non-violent demonstration became even more violent. There were people shot. There were arrests. There was an English girl who now figures here in the British Trotskyist party, who was over there. People were coming from all over, there were reports in the European press. ~~The rumor went around~~ - Williams now had nothing to do with this. He was just sort of staying there saying well you see where non-violence gets you-- but there was a report that they were going to lynch the people who had been arrested. As often happens in this type of thing the Negroes and whites, outside whites who were involved, really came in for a hell of a beating, and as in the Philadelphia, Mississippi, case, they even have been killed. Williams was more or less a victim of the mob in the Negro community which said "we've got to do something. We've got to free these people and get them out of jail."

He had arms, including machine guns, which had been purchased in New York and sent down there. They didn't use them because they got scared, but they had arms. The community was armed. The people were out in the street in front of his house when a car with a white couple came down the road. It was surrounded and the couple was told to get out. The crowd wanted to string them up right there. This man came from a neighboring

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town, claimed had lost their way. They said, no you're a member of the Klan in this town. They wanted to kill him or hold him as hostage. Williams said, "bring these people in my house and you know I won't let them go." He called the Sheriff and said, "look, I have these people here and my people are very upset and I want you to know that I don't want anything to happen to our people that you have in the jail." The Sheriff immediately called the National Guard, State Troopers and what not. They couldn't hold out very long. Williams escaped. Julian Mayfield was there, a well known Negro writer who now lives in Ghana as a result of this. Minnie Mallory, a Negro woman from New York who was there was later arrested and convicted and sentenced to 16 years in prison for kidnapping and the case is on appeal now. Williams was spirited across the United States—I knew vaguely where he was, but he was kept very carefully by Cubans and by Negro groups in contact with the Cubans to Canada, from Canada he was flown by private plane and by Castro himself, to Havana, where he is now.

On two occasions the FBI came to me asking for information about Williams, and I damn sure wasn't going to give any of what I knew. We had tried to get in touch with Bobby Kennedy himself. I had sent telegrams. I even tried to get a telephone call in. Because I knew what was going to happen on this thing, to get some kind of Federal intervention. It was one of the most sickening things that I ever saw. They wanted him out of the way. Even the way they came to me later—two of the agents came to the FPCC office in New York. They said, "We have 500 agents. We'll get him. He'll never get away." Well, he was away at that point. His aunt died in New York around that time. They went to the funeral parlor where the body was and put a wanted poster for Williams, on the coffin and stood there to see if he would come by. Really, they should have been thrown out on their heads, frankly. If it hadn't been Negroes I'm certain they would never have done that sort of thing. The trouble was—the trouble is—the whole attitude. Anyhow, as it is, Williams is not a Communist, he's not a Trotskyite. He's a former Marine, who's just had enough. Really, you know. And he's turned into a world-wide figure because people like Bobby Kennedy and others could not bother to try to see what could be done about it. It was no use, though. I mean, it's no use now. I'm certainly [illegible] everybody."

Well, that's too bad. Just like the case of these boys, Walter Bow, and so on. And they're not the only ones. For every Walter Bow there must be at least a hundred others. I must say, I would no more want to live in the States now — you're going to really see something. I don't really

~~The twelve issues were only~~ 200 copies maximum,

It was still printed until No. 12 ~~the end of the year.~~ the end of that first year. The twelve issues were printed there. The twelfth issue was only 200 or 300 copies maximum. It was never distributed. I still have some. Those are the ones I sold for $10.00 a book. The American libraries are desperate to complete their sets. It was never distributed because Verges hadn't paid Gonguin the money that he promised and while the copies were sitting there waiting for some arrangement of the financial busins, ~~other financial arrangement~~ the Swiss Federal Council finally took action and seized them. Actually the seizure was more "platonic" but they just wanted to said you can't send out anything. I understand Gonguin had 50 copies ~~of every issue~~ which he had salted away of every issue. He knew he could sell them. I think he could sell them in the States.

American university libraries, you know, ~~Libraries~~ are extremely — political files. Revolution became a sort of — it was the American press. If Revolution had a success, it came from the American press, not the French press, or the British press, the American press. It was really fortuitous but that you can't blame them - seeing this move to Paris, a new magazine with a pro-Chinese line which really ~~was a~~ pro-Chinese line, coming out at the same time as French recognition of China, so obviously you write things about a new twentieth century Europe, Verges, the Chinese top man in Europe, and this that and the other. And that was what started it. We had three articles, I believe, in the Christian Science Monitor. One of them even had the address in. Right then the letters came in, the subscriptions came in. All sorts of people wanted them. A subscription agency in the United States saw it, and and started taking orders from university libraries. The State Department took 20 copies, I think. There was one airmail subscription for the Embassy in Tokyo. The Congress for Cultural Freedom had even more than that. They had a list of every one of their correspondents, magazines, etc. Everyone got one. So we were doing well. And he could have, actually, on the English edition, whichhad a much lower cost than the others, he could have broken even. He would never have made anything, however.

But his policy for the French edition, he could never have balanced the budget without a hefty subsidy from someone.

((Some colleagues on the editorial staff))

The ~~[illegible]~~ editorial staff was again a fiction. There ~~was no~~

If you've been following Revolution since, you see each month, each ~~use~~ issue this

~~because he want s to make sure that they have~~
grows larger. ~~The~~
mainly fictitious names, many of them.

He's got Carlos . He's supposed to be from Spain.

This was a name made up by ~~Chen~~ to replace Valdes. Valdes was actually a person, who ~~is~~ a Spanish scientist, chemist, who works for the CNRS, The Centre Nationale de ~~Research~~ Scientifique, in Paris.
He did write the articles on Spain under ~~Chen~~'s supervision with strong ~~rewritint~~ rewriting. And his real name is Lopez. I saw him. His first initial is S. Martin Valdes is not his real name. His address . . .
~~[illegible]~~ He ~~is the person who~~ he is now wandering about very much at odds, but he is still very well informed about the Spanish situation. I think that if approached in the proper fashion, he might be willing to talk.

((How old is he))

In his late thirties. I had no trouble talking with him. He is very bitter. ((Why)) He was expelled from the Proletario group which he had founded, ~~and~~ more or less relegated. He isn't really made up for practical politics and he . . . matter of pride, etc. but he keeps his hand in. He said he wanted to go see Grippa, but he didn't have much idea of doing it. He is the one who told me about what was going on in the Spanish group. I could have gotten more. He had no idea that I was pumping him for information ~~[illegible]~~ He seemed to be approachable, willing to talk about the Spanish situation. He can lecture for hours. He is the professorial type, not for the rough and tumble of clique-like ~~practical~~ politics. He was used by Klein ~~Chen~~.

((What caused his rupture with group))

I don't know ~~didn't get~~ the exact story. He had group called Proletario. They put out a four-page news letter of the same name, most of which was in theory written by Valdes.
But was rewritten by Klein, Klein ~~Chen, Chen~~ was in contact with the members of the group and at one time Valdes and his wife were actually told that they were going to edit Revolution, a Spanish edition, which ~~that~~ was going to be publised in Europe. By the way the Spanish edition does exist, so I'm told, in Bogota. They have managed to get out a Spanish edition. It has nothing to do with Verges. It was brought out by the MOEC committee — Movimiento Obreros Estudiantes y Campesinos . . .
a kind of
Fidelista ~~movement~~,
and which is quite pro-Chinese and is getting Chinese subsidy, I think. ~~I think~~ They had quite a scandal about misappropriation of funds. Apparently the Chinese were giving them ~~[illegible]~~ fifteen thousand, twenty-five thousand and twenty thousand, and ten thousand of it would arrive, and somewhere along the line 5,000 or 20,000 on the way in Europe ~~on the way to Europe~~ would disappear. One of the persons was expelled.

((What's relationship of Spanish edition to))
It has — [illegible] some of the articles — —

Said to have copies in Brussels. I haven't seen. Brussels is used as a European headquarters for ~~Western Europe~~ MOEC. People going through either to China or to North Vietnam coming through there. ((Can they take stuff without any copyright problems?)) Oh, yes, at first Verges wanted them to be identical — same as Revolution in France, but and they would say, well,-- they wanted the editorial work done in Paris, which he would finance, and they would finance all of the production side. But he was unable to pay ~~them~~ for even the editorial thing, so they said they would do all of it in Colombia.

He would finance and they would finance all of the production, but ~~they were~~ unable

They had a commercial printer, who was going to front for them in Bogota on the same format as the English edition, the old English edition; now the English and the French editions are exactly identical. The pocket format.
I don't know what they've done. They didn't expect it to last very long- sort of a prestige operation. Expected three
3 or 4 issue to get out, before it would be seized, but that was enough for them. I think what they wanted to do was to establish themselves on an international plane, even nationally, as the leading left party

They've had a running battle with the Communist Party. They MOEC accuse the CP of having given the names of all their liaison people between the city and countryside - they are running ~~a countries~~ - a guerrilla campaign in certain areas of the country which has become quite serious. And they do have organizational ties with the
They are by no means a joke.
* FALN of Venezuela. / And they are having people trained in North Vietnam. They were supposed to. And in China.

They have some people in Algeria. They may even have persuaded the Algerians to train some people. I don't know. But they were trying.

// Actual editorial policy of the magazine— When I was at magazine, I selected the articles as I chose. In the English edition, with very few exceptions, almost everything was selected by me. Then there was a hiatus when no French edition. Then I was completely on my own. While there was a French edition, all I had to do was pick out and translate. Basically it was a translation. ~~Then there was~~

Verges strangely as it seems has very little concern about what goes into his magazine. (Who now in control) He doesn't write and he doesn't even care terribly much.

Hanh Lan, former prof of philos. taught at ~~the Lycee~~ a Lycee in Paris, has connections then. His true name is with Trotskyist groups. Is now suspected by the group, the people in Clichy, who make up the Chinese group on the fringe of the French Communist Party of being a Trotskyist agent. Certainly is a person who has had extremely close ties and maintains them with Trotskyist groups, particularly the so-called Lambert- (Groupe Lambert)

(How old) Probably He is in late thirties. Married to French woman, from whom he was separated.

His route from Vietnam to Algeria. He never went to Algeria. He can't leave France because has no French passport. Has been in Fr 12-15 years. but can stay as long as wants- French Viet

Came end of the forties or early fifties, definitely in the forties, after the war.

He finished his Lycee in France and went to Sorbonne, received doctorate. philosophy, sociology. He is apparently quite brilliant. He went into French Communist party./ I don't think he was in the CP in Vietnam, but he was connected to the Communist In France have organizational structure and also have ~~prominent~~ permanent people. their permanent people. Think he was one of the ~~latter~~. Was at one time to write a book on Vietnam, title- "Vietnam depuis Dienbienphu," published by Maspero. now being translated into English and will be pub in US within month or so by Monthly Review Press. This represents the most cogent ~~thought~~ soft line that - one could put up for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. This is the soft position. It is not the Chinese position. It's an equal co-existence one where they don't talke about socialist revolution. They don't even talk about taking power. but coalition, neutralization. . He wrote it '63. Has been updated with a new chapter. He does not still remain within the Com party. Neither expelled nor did he leave but just became inactive. He was a member of the economics commission of the party. ~~When~~ Verges ~~when he~~ was in the party, was a member of the Colonial ~~[illegible]~~ commission

He has much less imagination than Verges, does not have the verve, certainly none of not the gambling instinct. He is a hack, is very cautious, wants to protect more than anything else. his situation. For quite some time ~~[illegible]~~ has been going to see Maspero after each issue of Maspero's mag comes out to say how good it is, etc. He thought Revolution [illegible] ~~Maspero told Andersson.~~ Andersson told Maspero ~~that~~ "he launched a terrible campaign against you.

Complex person, numerous ties.

even proving his good faith by bringing manuscripts that were originally destined for <u>Revolution</u>. That Verges knew anything about that I seriously doubt . This went on to such an extent that Maspero told Andersson. Andersson said, "why he has launched a terrible campaign against you as a Trotksyite—" Maspero said he didn't believe it, so Andersson showed him a letter that ~~Chen~~ had written In which he demanded that he sever all ties with Trotskyists. with Maspero, and so on.

He is a complex person. He has numerous ties, ~~With~~. He printed two articles by ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ the British ~~Communist Party~~ Trotskyists about the British Communist Party, printed in Revolution, under the ~~pseudonym~~ name of Joshua Linton, which turned out to be Thomas Kent, written by one of the executive members of the British ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ Trotsky Socialist Labor League, which is an incredible thing. Now he is really considered by many of these Chinese people to be a Trotskyist, or a Trotsky sympathiser. I don't know about it. He does have very curious ties. I don't what he present relationship is to the Vietnamese though he claimed ~~x~~ that he had received ~~xxxxxxxx~~ a letter from Hanoi from a friend who was in a high position there who urged him not to do anything that could be considered anti-Soviet. This was some time before - in the spring./ And they said that really He should be returning home. But he has no intention of returning.

((Why))

He ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ quite used to the life in the west. He's one of these fellows who particularly likes running around and having a ~~xxxx~~ girl . . says he's gathering information from — one day a girl said I'm not an encyclopedia, will you stop asking me all these questions?

((His relationship with the Chinese))

He has some contact with the ~~Chinese agencies~~ New China News Agency but it is a very slight contact.

He was the one who finally in a state of panic went to the ~~Chi Emb and~~ one of the Chinese news agency correspondents in Paris and told him of the financial plight of the magazine. And that's when the ~~man~~ man from Chinese agency told him to prepare a budget. They said they would see what they could do. He told ~~Castell~~ Kissell and Kissell ~~Castell~~ put his foot down. He said that Verges . . .

((Who did he see))

* A Mr. Yan. They were at that time Yan and Yang. Yan a heavy set man, in his forties the senior of the two, had contacts with various groups of political people. The Embassy apparently didnt want any direct contacts because the people in Marseilles and elsewhere used to go to Berne. They had obviously first made contacts with the Chinese in Berne and then they continued them in Berne (after French established relations with Chinese) because obviously it wouldn't look very good to be....

\+ possibly ID

contacts with groups.

(Shouldn't be too aggressive too soon, after established in France, that sort of thing?)

I don't know. After all, they have reasonably good relations with the French so I think probably the French will be disappointed that they haven't been able to get more concrete things out of ~~the Chinese~~ them, trade and so forth.

(The French don't want the Chinese to —)

Dabble in French politics too much. However, ~~everyone knows one of the things that — Verges once said,~~ someone threatened- - No nothing to do with Verges, ~~it was~~ a friend of mine who works for ABC television in Paris, ~~[illegible]~~ Lou Chioffi, ~~and~~ talking to someone about Revolution in the French Foreign Ministry he said- ~~what do you think about this Chinese.~~ He always thought there was ~~something about this~~ — what do you think about this Chinese magazine put out ~~in~~ here? And he said- I don't know anything about it. Besides if we wanted to examine subsidies that go into the political publications in France we would certainly start with the Russians and Humanite and then go on with some of your American financed publications. (laughs) And that was the end of that!

That may have just been a sort of snide rejoinder. I think that they do ~~tend~~ intend to be discreet, that they were very happy about the situation there. I was in the Chinese Embassy only once. I was invited to a reception. I never saw so many people from ~~the~~ top brackets of government as at that reception. ~~Everybody - -~~ they had the Legion de'Honneur, ~~the~~ ~~[illegible]~~ the top structure of

Everywhere you went ~~they had~~ The a Legion d'Honneur in ~~his~~ his button. The top structure of the civil service were there — — — — from all the important industries.

(What's ~~Chen's~~ Kiu's loyalty then)

~~Chen's~~ Kiu's loyalty is ~~[illegible]~~ basically to himself. He's interested in Marxism,

(13) He's very academic minded. He really is a pedantic, academic person. And he's got a tremendous number of interests. He is a very hard worker when he works. It's he who writes and rewrites most of the magazine. He used to write most of the editorials. Verges does very little. He does not like to write. He doesn't like to be bothered with editorial things. He likes the promotional aspects of things. He likes to convene meetings every so often ~~and~~ to discuss things. But as for the actual running of things- though he did exercise a closer control over the French edition than he did over the English edition, he never- well once or twice he said put this in or don't put this in. He printed an article about Algeria which

was veiled criticism in the French issue, and he told me not to print that, for instance, in the English edition, his story being that he didn't want to embarrass the Chinese. He said that after all the Chinese were buying ~~this~~ and this ~~magazine~~ wasn't their line about ~~on~~ Algeria and they might be asked embarrassing questions by the Algerians saying why do you distribute this magazine, which has this sort of unfriendly article. ~~distributor~~ ~~magazines which has this unfriendly article.~~

((You mean the Chinese were buying))

The Chinese at that time were buying 3000 copies of the English edition.

— 300 of the French. They didn't seem to mind ~~about~~ the

300 French

In actual fact, the Chinese so far as I know never made any comment about the magazine, or its contents. None whatsoever.

((Is Chen's willingness to go to Maspero and knock Verges and go to Andersson and knock Maspero- is this inconsistent with his pedantic Marxism?))

For him a lot of it is academic. It's not related too much to life, except that he is a plotter, a born conspirer. He loves to have ten people around him and to tell them what to do, how to maneuver. Of course whatever he tells them generally turns out to be disastrous for them. For example, the so-called pro-Chinese students inside of the UEC, the Union des Etudiantes ~~Communique~~ Comunistes at their congress last year-- ~~let's see they've got one coming up~~ --he was the one behind who was telling them what to do, their tactics and strategy. They had a terrible catastrophe. (laughing) In fact the pro-Chinese students represent a negligible faction, now inside ~~of~~ the Communist students, the largest faction being the Italian faction, which is actually financed by the Italian Communist Party. The Struggle has gone on for years between the French party and the Italian party and it continues there.

Then he had a group of youths who called themselves the Drapeau Rouge group. They put out again a four-page, like a newsletter, ~~the~~ which he promised to get money from Verges to subsidize. Verges had no money, as you know. One single issue came out.

Proletario, with Valdes, managed to keep on because Valdes had his own sources of income from the Spaniards who belonged to ~~it~~ (his group) apparently. They kicked in quite a lot, a month, you know, to keep it going. It wasn't too expensive. The main thing is finding a printer who will print it clandestinely, in France. ~~Because all these things that have no~~ Under French law you're supposed to have a ~~Directeur Association~~ Gerant(?) who is responsible for it and anything in a foreign language is exempt from the liberty of press, from freedom of press, in France. The only foreign languages that you can use are Basque and Breton and I think, Alsatian dialect.

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For a magazine addressed to the Spanish workers in France and in Western Europe, the problem was for them to find someone to print it, clandestinely. And they found someone I think with Siney and Strelkoff.

(What about Strelkoff)

Let's go down the line. The next one in order would be Castell; Chastel (?) is the nephew of Joseph Castell of the French Academy.

(Castell's first name?)

Patrique

Patrick. He is the nephew of a very famous man and he has worked, again, for Maspero. All these people worked for Maspero. Verges takes great pleasure in sort of taking people away from Maspero. He used to boast about the people that he had gotten away from Maspero. I suppose this — — — fellow can't do anything for us, so why do you want to get him? tantalizing but the idea that he might be able to undercut Maspero or bring Maspero down — he is extremely petty in this sense, and once he built up this grudge against Maspero, because he felt that Maspero didn't support him 100% when he wanted to buy, and then when he wanted to buy out Maspero, Maspero wasn't interested in combining forces. So from that point on he, in a petty way, did everything possible he did — can't do too much now, — to draw people away, the play down. He went to the Chinese and said Maspero was a Trotskist. The joke of the matter was that all of the Trotskyists who had been and who are in this organization, and I'm sure they are there, came through Chen. It was Chen who had introduced them to Maspero. And Maspero was the sort of person who really couldn't care less whether the Trotskyites got in as long as there was some sort of free discussion. He's not a committed person anyway; he's the sort of a man who is sentimentally on the left but outside of any party, and for whom this thing has become a fairly good business. Those magazines are by no means expensive. Only sells about 2000 copies per issue, which is all now that Revolution sells — it has come down a long way.

Anyway, Chassel was one of Maspero's authors and he worked for Liberation. He's been to Laos and to the French West Indies, Algeria. He's a journalist. He's worked I think for France Observateur. — — —. He's never been a member of the Communist Party. His main problem is trying to be bigger one day than his uncle, whom he dislikes intensely but nevertheless finds very useful, though he claims. His uncle is very tight with his money, but in any case he gets him credit — He says I am Kessel, and they aren't certain whether it's him or the nephew or son, so they give him credit. He was the business manager. He knows damn little about business, but — Verges had a great deal of confidence in him and he knew a lot about money manipulation and so forth.

Verges tried to divide things up. On two occasions Verges asked ~~him~~ me to change some money. In one case he gave ~~him~~ me a brief case which contained $30,000 to cash, and asked ~~him~~ me to go to the bank and change it to French francs. I went into the bank and said I wanted to change some money. They didn't faint, nor ask any questions either. Then on the second occasion I think I changed only $2000. It was in cash, in hundred dollar bills. And the other one was in ten dollar bills. That was the problem, they had to count it all. They weren't at all pleased. Where he got the money from I don't know. ~~They~~ It was in used American bills, old bills, ~~and~~ wrappers on them had no identification. But he didn't want anyone else to know. He didn't want ~~Cassell~~ to know I had changed it.

(You say Cassell was never in the French Communist Party)

No.

(Why not?)

I don't think Cassell ~~is~~ is a person ~~de gauche~~ homme de gauche without even intellectual he likes to live well and the party's bureaucratic organization doesn't attract intellectuals very long. Many of them go through it but just that. They go in and out. In fact it's almost- it's very good reference if you've been in and out of the party. You've got so many people who have been in and out of the party that you can go almost anywhere and find sympathy and jobs and so on. People at Expresse and so on are made up of people of that type.

(Does Cassell write?)

Yes. He has written one or two articles for Revolution, but very little. The only thing that he used to do was to re-write some of Chen's things, the editorials in particular, after Chen had worked on them, to put them into really good French. Chen's French sometimes has a tendency to be very esoteric and baroque.

(No substantive editorial work)

No. He is definitely a lesser figure but he likes his position. He likes being the sort of front man. (Though) with the financial troubles, he was the one who did suffer most. Because all the creditors got to him. Verges was hiding, didn't come into the office sometimes for days, or would come in only for a very short period of time, because he was afraid that people would want to serve summones and whatnot on him for debt. Cassell was there. Cassell was not a member of the company, I thought he was.

By the way I don't know whether I got that correct, yesterday. That was the Bureau No. 6 where ~~the~~ this thing was - - not 16 22nd of August- - that was '63. When they set up the company.

(That's Bureau no. 6)

Now Sine.

Sinet is listed ~~as~~ with Strelkoff as Secretaire de la Redaction, which sounds like he had something to do with the editorial side of it but has nothing to do with that. He is of course the partner of Verges, at least on paper. Whether the 2000 thousand francs in his name actually represent his money I doubt. I think it is probably all Verges' money. I think that Verges needed at least another person to go into the . . . He is the lay-out, make-up (man). ~~When Verges went into~~ the layout, art work, cartoons. ((He handle photos, too??)) Well, yes,

They just send around to see where they can get them. But as they have no money now, it's just a matter of begging. They used to buy almost exclusively from Magnum -- that's why they had so many Cartier-Bresson. Magnum has beautiful photos, except they are expensive. And then they couldn't pay them.

((Sinet is French))

His real name is Maurice Sinet. He is French. He is in his thirties. Married, rather unhappily; has one child, which his wife claims is not his. He's more of an anarchist. He was in the French Communist Party but for a very brief period, I gather. He is very virulent. Before Revolution came out he put out his own little magazine, a cartoon magazine called Sine Massacre which (had) the most virulent cartoons I've ever seen. They depicted things like the clergy, or love - a very, very sick type of cartoon, which contrasted greatly from what made him famous, the Sine cat. He made a fortune with his cats and he also had a tie-in with some promotional things, Key-chain and others - That's where of course he made a lot of money. He does a lot of commercial art work. He sells quite a bit here in England. He does work for British ad agencies.

((Why does a man this successful put this much effort into Revolution?))

Because he is-- again, the same sort of thing- he is an emotional Leftist, He's incapable of any real organizational (work)- - So is Verges. I think that no matter what sort of organization, he couldn't stay (with it) too long. He must be the big boss of it. He must be a grand patron. Sinet is more, much more juvenile. He is forever throwing bottles of ink, you know! His financial success has been seriously endangered - not from Revolution, but the business of Sinet Massacre because Mme. De Gaulle did not like what she considered blasphemous cartoons, and so he was arrested for Outrage au publique, outrage a la police, outrage au chef d'etat- - He got out of most of

them but it cost a lot of money ~~taxgat~~- it put this thing out of existence and Mme de Gaulle said she thinks he is a very nasty man.

(Does he get paid by Revolution or does he supply funds for Revolution)

No, he supposedly gets the same thing that ~~everyone~~ everyone else gets- getting 1500 francs a month. Everyone allegedly gets or did receive 1500. He has an assistant because he can't devote much of his time to it. He's got to earn a living. He has a very expensive establishment. His mother and father, wife and child, maintains two cars and has a three story- sort of duplex, bigger than an apartment. It is magnificent, on the Rue Plichie in Paris. In order to maintain this he's got to find ways of earning ~~additional~~ a living mainly advertising work. He had worked for Express which paid him very well, but he broke with them on a political issue. He likes to eat well, drink well and run around after women and this is expensive. So a lot of the work, the donkey work, is done by Strelkoff, whose real name is Alexander Strelkoff.

The main thing to read in Verges are the editorials. That's the only thing ginsberg (?) cared about. The editorials are very-- towards the end for example, there's the ~~phrax~~ phrase - "it's better to have for the future a failure that is luminous, ~~une~~ chef lumineux, than success in confusion" whatever that means. This is Verges' line in many things. ~~Theyx~~ They're (editorials) filled with phrases ~~like~~- - he wanted at one point to circle these ~~like~~ phrases with a crayon to show people that his line has always been the same.

Ginzberg? - is Pierre Villon (FCF CC real name) coincidence?

THIRD SESSION

19 February 1965

Reel no. 2

((You have an acute memory for the last phrase of yesterday.))

I happen to be a journalist.

((You have a very retentive mind. You do very well about these things.))

As you get older you forget. Doesn't it frighten you sometimes when you can't think of a name- - I'm really beginning to feel bad about . . something I can't remember- - I think my God, what's happening. .

Strelkoff is Alexander Strelkoff. He is in his early thirties, son of Russian immigrant parents in France,

((Born in France?))

Born in France. Speaks Russian fluently. His parents were members of the Communist Party in Russia, / Bolshevik Party but with Trotskyite tendencies. That's why they had to get out of Russia after the Revolution but he has no Trotskyist leanings at all. In fact because of his parents, he seems more or less to lean the other way, to be at least verbally, a violent Stalinist. He is married and has three (children), thee by one wife, has one illegitimate and several others. He is very active sexually. He is a very handsome fellow and has a great deal of success with girls. He earns his living as a graphic designer. He worked for Hachette doing layouts for them, until the great Sinet Massacre scandal, when de Gaulle finally took umbrage at this. He and Sinet were the two cartoonists who put this out,

((Strelkoff can draw, as well))

Yes. In those things I gave you you will see cartoons by Strelkoff. He is essentially an artist, a cartoonist, though none ever printed his cartoons before he ran into Sinet because they were considered just too disgusting for {publication}. He is really the acolyte, if you will, of Sinet. And any success, any money that he has come to him through Sinet. He is Sinet's man, and Sinet passes on work to him. They sort of pass around girls to each other and that sort of thing. He does, nevertheless, count for a certain amount in the magazine. He did count, because he was considered reasonably disinterested. That is, he wasn't concerned very much about money. He lives very poorly, with his wife and children, and has made far more sacrifices than Sinet but he is a very loyal, I was going to say, a faithful retainer, of Sinet's. I think that would sum him up. His loyalty is to Sinet and not to Verges.

((What are his principal types of contact outside of —))

He doesn't have any contacts outside of — His contacts are mainly body to body with girls. In terms of politics, he didn't like the idea that perhaps ~~Chen~~ was deeply involved with Trotskyism, that sort of thing, but that was just a small ~~calibre~~ count, and (?), his scruples on this point. He wanted to keep it going. He was very ~~xxxxxxx~~ anti-Chinese in the sense that he didn't think that the magazine should accept any Chinese money if the Chinese were willing to give it, the reason for this being that he thinks that should have a free hand in the arts, and so forth, jazz and all this, which of course he and Sinet are very much interested in.

((He's a literary liberal, then-))

Yes, in terms of the arts, he would be. He doesn't care much for abstract art, ~~but~~

((But he's not a party liner))

By no means. A former Communist, but he wasn't expelled. He also just withdrew.

((If his parents were emigres from Russia, I assume this would have been in the twenties, ~~or~~))

Yes, in the twenties, just before he was born. — because of their Trotskyist leaning. I suppose they were members of the Trotskyist faction of the Sovit Communist party at that time.

((Do you know whether they were expelled or left voluntarily))

I don't know. I think they left voluntarily, but that's just supposition. I think he mentioned something about it. I think that they really ~~xxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ fled ahead of the Sovbet police, the Cheka- - he's Jewish, and maybe some of his relatives did end up in Soviet concentration camps. I think he still has some living relatives (in Russia) yes, because he was one of the chefs de chantier, construction foreman, in the final stages of the French ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ exposition in Moscow. That was in 61 or 62. He speaks Russian fluently. There ~~xx~~ he met some of his relatives.

((Has he made other trips to the Soviet Union))

I think he has made two trips. ~~But~~ One was with the French exposition, ~~and~~ he was there before and I think throughout the expodition, putting it up and so on. He is very compeéent ~~xx~~ as a designer, a little bit lazy — ~~but other than that~~ — he tries to get other people to do his work for him if he can, just as Sinet passes it on to him he tries to pass it on to others. Where money is concerned he is not terribly scrupulous but he's not money hungry. His weakness is women. Very much so. He shocked the Anderssons. He used to come to Lausanne and he had so many girls

to meet(?)
xxxxx they couldn't keep up (with it).

((Did Sinet bring him to xxxxxxxx Revolution)

xxxxx Yes. He was delegated to do the work of the English edition. Sinet couldn't do it and this was before the French edition was started in France, so it was Strelkoff who did it. He came to Lausanne for a couple of days to do the layout and so on. Then he found someone in Lausanne, a Swiss graphic artist, ~~commercial artist~~, who then did the major part of the work. Strelkoff came to oversee it.

That's about all there is about him. It's not very much, really. He's not very active politically. His life centers around females, jazz, night clubs. He would get drunk occasionally. He shares Sinet's tastes there - and women.

Now after Chen, ~~Oswell~~ Kien Vissel and Sinet and Strelkoff, you have really reached the end of the immediate editorial staff as such. There was an editorial board which was a fiction. It had names of people like Babu on it. Babu saw Verges actually twice. He never contributed anything to the magazine except one interview which I did with him, taped in Geneva, when he was at the UN ~~office~~ Conference on Trade and Development.

BABU

((Babu's biographic details are well enough known but how did he come to get involved in Revolution in the first place.))

He was suggested by ~~Denis Pombere.~~ Dennis Phombeah ~~Denis Pombere is~~ now the delegate from Tanzania to the UN. ~~Pombehe is spelled with an h. Phombeaht.~~ Dennis Phombeah is a former student - he's a Tanzanian diplomat now, He is Tanganyikan by birth. He was the secretary of the Committee of African Organizations here in London for a number of years. This was a Ghana-subsidized attempt to group together and unify all of the various African national groups. He's married to a girl by the name of ~~Bidlewna~~ Ilona. She is a Jewish girl from London. Her parents also former leftists. But she is very much anti-Communist. Dennis has very close ties with the British Communist party. He was a member of their African student committee. They had a committee headed by a woman named Kay Beauchamp/Beecham who was delegated the task of to sort of watch over the African students in London and they didn't have very much success. But Dennis was able to milk them, the Ghana Government, by getting a subsidy, plus he had direct ties with the Soviets. He was a graduate student at Moscow University under Professor Ivan ~~Potocki~~ Potekhin (r.i.p.) He is now dead, as you know, he was the head of their African studies department. He was getting his doctorate. I think it was in anthropology, I don't know exactly. But he was one of the very few persons

Dennis Phombeah

getting a doctorate in Moscow while sitting in London, and his wife spent most of her time writing his thesis. He would tell her, "now read this book and tell me what it says" and then "work this into my general ~~thing~~". He had very little time. He also had some connections with the Chinese and had been to Peking, when I don't know, and had been invited to go to Peking last summer. He managed to keep from getting there. I suppose he felt that if he went- he did go to Moscow on several occasions, theoretically it was to see Prof. Potekhin. That was just before ~~Potekhin's~~ death. The Zanzibar revolution is a year old, so it was before the Zanzibar Revolution ~~but was~~ early last year, ~~must have been January~~. I saw him last at Orly Airport when he ~~was i~~ - -

~~He~~ came through ~~I guess severl weeks~~ later on his way to Moscow. He took the Air France flight and he had an hour to kill in Paris, and I went out to the airport and saw him. He gave me ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ photos of Zanzibar.

((You had known he was coming))

Yes. They told me. This was for the magazine. Some of the photos that later appeared were the photos he brought. Pretty bad photos. They were all one could get.

Then he took the Air France flight to Warsaw and Moscow. When he came back of course, although he was Tanganyikan, Babu knew him and had strong confidence in him and appointed him adviser to the Zanzibar High Commission here in London. The Commissioner, who had been one of the Sultan's men, had left. There had been a Civil Servant by the name of Omar, Omar Zoran, who remained. He said he didn't want to lose his pension, revolution or no revolution. He didn't know much about revolutions. In fact, he was very touching, because he asked us could we suggest books that he could read about revolutions. He was a time server. While he was quite useful as the First Secretary, nevertheless Babu couldn't trust him.

So Dennis was put in as a sort of watchdog.

When the Geneva Conference came up, Dennis was there until Babu arrived, as ~~Babu~~, the chief delegate, from Zanzibar. In fact, he had everybody ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ sitting in as delegates, I sat in as a delegate from Zanzibar for a few minutes without even knowing it ~~till I wanted to go out~~.

Somebody came up and took my photograph. I assumed that I was either being photographed by the CIA or by the State Department or the Soviet side ~~and~~ or both.

((Did you ever see the product))

No. I assume it was for ~~[illegible]~~ consumption. There was an East German

for press purposes. He wanted to take portraits of all the Africans. He got their names. He had a tremendous file there. (laughing) And he also had a wire-photo machine which worked right out of his studio. He did Phombeah and another fellow while I was there.

Anyway, Phombeah was known to Verges. He may have met him when Verges was in the IUM (International Union of Students, in Prague. He was the VicePresident. There are four vice presidents. Verges was one of them.

As I said, when we were in Algeria, we had this woman Rosalind Ainslie as our correspondent here. When there came the blow-up- there was Phombeah- - he knew Rosalind Ainslie and was giving her political advice. In other words, he was muchhigher up in the hierarchy of the British Communist Party, although theoretically he is not a member of the party. That I don't know. But she certainly accepted what he said to a great extent. But he was going with everyone. So whenshe ceased to workfor us he agreed to work, for £50 a month, but not to have his named used. He didn't want his name to appear in the magazine. He said "however, I'm certain that Babu now (this was before the revolution) I'm certain that Babu will be willing." He sent a cable to him and got a reply which was favorable. Babu then turned up in Paris and London. He was at the Labor Party congress at Scarborough. On his way back to Africa from that congress he stopped in Paris and that was his meeting with Verges.

He told Verges then: He said "we will be in power within six to eight weeks after independence" And of course he was. And really that shocked Verges, Verges to see somebody who really knew what he would do. Also Babu- - very strange in that he doesn't dress well at all. He looks very sloppy.

I saw him next. We both saw him next, after the UN conference, the Geneva Conference. He came to Paris with the Omar character who is still here. I saw he was presented to the Queen not too long ago. And his so-called Chef de Protocol, who just happened to be a boy who could speak French which was a convenience. He also came with an Italian girl by the name of Betti, her last name, and I suspect, although I am not certain, that she is Laura Betti, who is a well-known Italian actress and the alleged mistress of Pierre Paolo Passalm the film director, He was the man who made Accatonia and just made the Gospel According to St. Matthew which got a big prize and all that. He is a homosexual and so it is a very strange sort of relationship. She was supposed to be a member of

Nenni Socialists. I don't know if she has gone with the PSIUP, ~~people~~ the new left split, or not. I tried to get more information about her in Rome but I couldn't just walk in and say "weren't you the girl I ~~found~~ found in bed with Babu". She speaks English well and she spent a considerable amount of time in Geneva with him and came to Paris with him.

He was also with Murray ~~Fells~~ Sales? an Australian who spent most of his time as a mutual funds salesman. Murray was based in Geneva. I suspect that he also was supplying girls.

Murray was also in contact with and introduced Babu to a man by the name of Victor Herbert, who is an American Mutual Funds salesman. He used to be with OIS, Overseas Investment Service, in Geneva, which is the biggest American overseas fund, run by a man by the name of Bernie ~~Cornbelt(?)~~ Kornfell. Exactly what this curious crowd was doing with Babu there in Geneva I don't know. Murray Sales then later told stories which were not quite true of a man who was going around the Hotel Intercontinental in Geneva knocking on doors saying "are you a Foreign Minister?" "Yes" " Well, I want to invest $50,000 in your country. Which country do you come from." Now Murray Sales' story is different. He told Melvin Lasky of Encounter that someone came and said, "I'm from the CIA. Here's a gold watch and I'll give you $50,000 if you'll work for us." ((Who are you)) Yes, who are you? Exactly.

Despite some of the curious antics I heard of with Cubans, I can't believe anybody would get that way. And besides, Babu was very amused by the man who did come. And he didn't get a watch. He told me that he'd gotten a camera from the West Germans once. They said "don't recognize Ulbricht and we'll give you this lovely camera." Of course they had already made a deal with East Germany.

((What was Victor Herbert's role in all this?))

I suspect that they were trying to invest money, that was all. The thing which interests me about all of this is that Babu, despite the fact he is a revolutionary, and a very competent one, I think, he has other strings to his bow.

One, he is very much interested in women. Two, he drinks heavily. Money, which is extremely scarce in Zanzibar like most places in the world, is of great interest to him. He also told us that he had informed the Chinese that he was going to carry out the coup and the Chinese were opposed to it. They went ahead anyway. They thought it was an adventure. Then afterwards--- since you were able to do it, ((Is that what he told you?))

Yes, that's what he told Vergest and me. Actually that wasn't for publication

Phombeah brought in Babu. Babu had no real connection with the magazine except on these two occasions. He gave me an interview which was printed in the last issue - in both issues of Revolution, and that was all. Then he went off to Indonesia. That's history. The merger was ~~being~~ made between Tanganyika and Zanzibar and it was ~~partly~~ partially behind his back although he knew that it was going to go on and he was not at all opposed. He felt that it was a good thing. We found it difficult to understand why he felt it was a good thing, but he thought that in Tanganyika the chaos was so great and the lack of defined goals, the lack of ability, ~~the~~ to capacity to satisfy the growing needs of the masses there would be such that the Indian community ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ which had its hand on the small business, and also the big ~~time~~ fibre plantations and what-not were an especially vulnerable target group, that [Julius] Nyerere, despite all of his humanism and his Catholic religion wouldn't be able to put up much resistance. I think he was quite right. That's what happened. That is, Zanzibar ~~which~~ is taking over Tanganyika into Tanzania. There was a struggle between Babu and Hanga, but that seemed to calm down to a great extent. I think that's over now. I've heard different things. I don't know.

One of the things that this fellow Curtis Kate? Cabe of the Atlantic monthly proposed to do - he has more proposals than he has dollars- unfortunately, is that we try to go to Zanzibar. No one has even done any (reporting) of any particular note. I probably could get in. No one really has written anything about Zanzibar since the revolution. Don't know whether that is possible or not.

(There was a great deal of noise at the time of the Zanzibar revolution about Babu's relationship with Kao Liang, the NCNA man.)

Well, yes, it's true he has worked for them. And after he informed them of what he was going to do, they — — — — —

that was about two or three days before the revolution. They had given him a small amount of money, but not much. . it wasn't their money - - the Zanzibar revolution, it was extremely confusing because he was out of the country at the time. He knew what must be done. But for instance, the bringing in of- - the fellow - - Okello which was an incredible thing to do. the former police corporal from Uganda. I have the feeling that he was by no means all powerful , that it was a coalition of forces, It ~~The~~ revolution was popular in the sense that the overwhelming majority of the ~~[illegible]~~ island's population were ~~was~~ represented among ~~the~~ the revolutionaries who turned against the Arab and Indian populations.

which had long had a standing grudge against that and saw no way of doing away with, but obviously they weren't all as left as Babu. You had for instance Osman Sharif, who made Ambassador to United States. [illegible] go keep him out of Tanganyika. He was going to be here in London, I think he was the High Commissioner in London, for a very short period of time. And then when the merger came, it was the Tanganyikan High Commissioner who represented the merged countries, with Omar Zoran still staying on as the Secretary, Dennis Phombeah going to the UN where he had been in Geneva at one point, now in New York, Sharif going to Washington

(And was recently recalled)

Yes. Sharif's position is extremely shaky, but they really disliked him greatly, but because he is the head of the Shirazi Community they couldn't strike him down right away. What they wanted to do really was to put him in a position where he would finally be bought out. They figured that he would go over to the Western side. One day or the other he would jump. And that's the way of getting rid of him- without them having to do anything. That's one reason he was sent to Washington. They thought that after a while he would. .

(So much for Babu. Now on the Board)

Now we have the Mulana Bashani- - he is a Pakistani. Dennis Phombeah was unable to continue his work. He was unable really to do anything. He was just collecting £60 a month. The reason that he did absolutely nothing was that the actual work was done by a Pakistani named Hamza Alavi a former secretary, Third Secretary or something, Of the Pakistan National Bank. He is a Marxist, doubt that he is actually a member of the Pakistan Communist party. He comes from one of the Ismaili Moslem Sects, and his family is extremely wealthy and has holdings in a Tanganyika, a fibre plantation. He also has relatives in Zanzibar. When he was asked by Dennis Phombeah to go to Zanzibar to help straighten out their balance of payments problems, which he wanted to do, his family told him that if he did he'd never come back to them, since they had lost some money. He is a great friend of Ralph Milleband of LSE (London School of Economics) here. He is an academic. He has contacts with Trotskyist groups. His contacts with the British Communist party are not very good. He is very easy going, a rather soft personality. He is by no means 100% or even 50% pro-Chinese. In particular because he doesn't approve of Chinese support for President Ayub Khan. This led to his replacement finally.

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~~Xxxxxxxx~~

Verges wanted somebody from Pakistan on the board. He (Alavi) said "I'm certain that the Mulana Bashani Khan will agree".

((That would be Mulana Abdul Hamid Bashani))

That's right. He's sometimes called Khan as a title of respect. He's a 70 or 80 years old man. He's called the Red Mullah, sort of like the Red Dean of Canterbury.

He's the leader of one of the East Pakistan parties. He had been to China and was quite pro-Chinese. He was more than willing. But he had absolutely no contact whatever with the magazine.

((Did he come in to replace Hamza Alavi))

Yes.

((How long did Hamza Alavi work with the magazine))

You would have to check the issues of the English edition. He was there until slightly before we dropped Rosalind Ainslie. That would be May of 63, right up to spring of 64.

((Did Hamza Alavi do anything actually)) ~~or did he just~~

He found manuscripts and so on. He actually did the work that Phombeah never did. But that was all. And it was sort of contre coeur with him because he did not agree with the thing. He had the idea that the magazine was an open forum, sort of rostrum for debate between all sorts of revolutionary movements. But when it became very obvious that Verges wanted to try, at that time, at least, to stay with the Chinese line, it particularly because of his feelings about the situation in Pakistan and he wasn't happy. Also on the question of India, he felt that the Chinese position vis-a-vis India wasn't just, and he didn't like the hook-up, ~~between Pakistani~~ the growing friendship and actual solidarity between Pakistan and China.

((So he was through amicably. What is the present relationship between Alavi and Verges))

I doubt if he has any at all. He is very active here in London with Pakistani groups. He has money. His wife's family has money, his own family has. It wasn't a question of money for him.

((Has he continued to be active in AfroAsian things))

He's an academic. The Socialist Register published last year an article on Imperialism by him. He is active around the London School of Economics. He is known to the academic Left, friends with the boys who do Left Review and so on. His only practical work would be working with Pakistani groups, for instance during the last election

the Tories ran in several constituencies Pakistani independent candidates in the hope of breaking the Labor vote, hoping that the Pakistanis would vote for these Pakistani independents. Hamza worked with the Labor Party in those constituencies, to counter this; in fact ~~and apparently~~ they were quite successful. He has very good connections inside the Labor Party. And he does not have very good ties at all with the Communist Party, though he is not by any means anti-Communist. He's a skeptic.

((How about Bashani))

He has never done anything. Never heard from him except once when he ~~xxix~~ said we could put his name on the board. As far as I know there has never been any contact.

((Do they get paid for this))

No.

Next is Hassan Riad ~~Mxxxd~~. He is S. Amir. He is an official of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, (with headquarters in Dakar) ~~UN economic adviser in Dakar~~. He has a very high position inthat. He is Egyptian, a full member of the Egyptian Communist Party with very very pronounced Trotskyist views. That is, he feels, he has a theory about the role of bureaucracy in under-developed countries - the progressive and reactionary bureaucracy- xxx fits into general Trotskyist theories but applied there. He has done work on Egypt, state capitalism in Egypt. A book of his published recently by Edition de Minuit ~~Victor Min~~ in Paris, part of which appeared in Revolution. Some of it was so obviously Trotskyist that Kiin ~~Chen~~, despite his somewhat partial agreement with parts of it felt that it was too obvious even to print in Revolution. He only comes through Paris occasionaly. His main interest in REvolution is getting his things printed. He is very interested in having his things published. He is very cynical about many of the African States. His article on Senegal appeared recently in Revolutian, in French, I think in No. 12. It was written under a pseudonym ~~by him~~ and based on the UN Economic Commission for Africa research, stuff that he couldn't say in his official ~~publication~~ capacity. (~~Pseudonym~~) Like Jalet ~~Lajalle~~, yes.

He is not overly pro-Chinese. He feels that the Chinese philosophical position isn't quite adequate, the ~~ideoloi~~ ideological model isn't adequate for under undeveloped countries, certainly for Africa.

((Do you know him- How old is he))

Yes I know him. He is in his thirties. About 35. Married. He is Egyptian. He is anti-Nasser really. He feels that the Egyptian Communist Party has really abdicated any constructive role inside Egypt, even from the

concentration camps where they were held putting out secret clandestine tracts supporting Nasser, which was the craziest thing I've ever heard. ~~Because~~ Now they've been liberated - in fact the old Communists are now being given very high organizational posts in the new Egyptian Party, ~~and~~

Communism, and Marxism ~~is~~ are extraneous to Arab socialism but they are very useful people so they use them in there. And the group that are under Soviet influence are perfectly willing to go along with this.

Q (Is he pro-anything in Egypt)

No, I think that he is sort of resigned to the flow of events of history. He analyzes what he considers state capitalist developments, the rise of a new bureaucratic middle class, the officer class and he tries to show in his writings how the officer class has crushed the old land-owning Wafdist ruling class which had its links with British and French financial interests, and has now consolidated itself in power, and there is a certain social mobility, but for them only. In other words, how limited it is and the officer caste certain of its functionaries — but still the problem of the masses remains.

(Does he concern himself very much with the state of Egypt?)

From an academic point of view only. He's more academic. He's not even particularly concerned wih revolution. If you want his address . . ~~not here~~.

Now who do we have- Marcos Ferrer- that's Colombia. I don't know anything about it. It probably stands for Dr. Leiva ~~Semper~~ SEMPER of the MOEC IN Paris. He is a Colombian doctor, the representative in Paris of the MOEC. He is the one who conducted negotiations with Verges for a Spanish edition in Colombia. I assume Marcos Ferrer ~~(or Ferra)~~ to be a pseudonym.

~~Frandy~~ Frene Ginwalla, next on the list, is a member of the Indian Congress for South Africa. She was a correspondent of Revolution in Dar es Salaam and she published a magazine called Spearhead until she was expelled from Tanganyika under a cloud and accused of being a Western spy. The accusations were not made openly. She was known to have contacts with the ~~Western~~ West German Embassy. She received West German money from the Carl Ebert Foundation and actually printed West German propaganda in the her magazine. She had gone to West Germany and done this so obviously that ~~I dont know~~ she couldn't have been very sophisticated about it because it was just too (open) . . She was accused of having ~~told the Soviet Embassy of having~~ offered to carry information for the Soviet Embassy, volunteering as ~~a Communist~~, a South African Communist, to give them information, two-thirds of which turned out to be totally useless and false, which again might have been to ingratiate herself. ~~I -- She works~~ She was here in London after she was

expelled, I'm not certain of the exact dates. She was also known to have slept around with almost every Minister of the Tanganyikan government including Julius Nyerere. This is one of the reasons why there was so much hushhush about her, that she had obviously gotten a lot of information out of these fellows. She was very close to Oscar Kambona and she claimed that Oscar Kambona was going to get her back into the Foreign Ministry.

She was just Revolution's correspondent there. She did practically nothing. When she got out, she managed to keep her little office going. They didn't seize anything, and she turned over the mailing list of her Spearhead magazine to Revolution. Verges had paid her £1000 for a deposit so she could do some work but she really didn't do anything, but she, unlike Rosalind Ainslie, turned over the unspent portion of that to Verges when she came to London. She wasn't interested really in continuing her work with Revolution. Being Indian of course posed a problem for her with anything to do with the Chinese. She was very close to the Indian community. As anyone who looks through that mailing list will see we have lots of missionaries, Indian businesses, and so forth in East Africa, who were taking subscriptions to the magazine more or less out of friendship and solidarity with another Indian. They didn't care much whether she was a Communist or not.

She was supposed to have been the mistress of Dr. Dadu. At least they say she slept with Dr. Dadu and they had a very close relationship to him. Dr. Dadu is the president of the Indian Congress for South Africa and a member of the Communist Party of South Africa, a very important member. Because the Indian community has holdings up and down East Africa, Mozambique as well, their role in the liberation struggle is very equivocal. Obviously the Africans want to go ahead while the Indians are thinking - well - Africanization menaced them - the Indians. The English used them as a sort of buffer, they preferred to bring an Indian clerk to East Africa rather than to train an African. That was a typical colonial maneuver but now it has put the Indians in a situation historically which is untenable, for a long period. You know people talk about multi-racial states but in East Africa it is a joke. It won't hold up. I don't think it will, anyway.

The Indian Congress of South Africa is related to the African National Congress, and to the Colored people's congress, all of this in a so-called Congress Alliance. She had contacts with the African - the ANC people. the ANC people here in London. They were suspicious of her as well. But she managed somehow to get back in. She was ill, she was in hospital She was hurt in an auto accident, and she had to have a very complicated bone operation . That put her out of action for some time. I don't know, but I heard that she is now back in Tanganyika. She may well be. She has quite a bit of money; her family has money. Of course the Indians do have money. She did very little for the magazine. She occasionally told me about people in the ANC who might do something for the magazine. But most of the people she told me abut were members of the South African Communist Party. That party has taken a pro-Moscow stand and most of its people don't want to do anything for Revolution, though we did have articles by Bryan Bunk another South African Communist. That was before their party took their stand on the Sino-Soviet conflict. And there is a struggle going on right now inside of the ANC. That's a long complicated thing. That has nothing to do with Revolutin.

(On my list here we have Diallo)

Diallo is an adviser of the President of Mali- what's his name - Modewa Keida.

He is married to a French woman, a Leftist, he knows Verges through friendship and offered to help. He put him in contact with ______________ who is Minister of Information, who is very, very pro-Chinese.

(In Mali)

Yes. When Chou en Lai visited Mali, you recall, that he got quite committed. There were some gratuitous, open handed slaps

There's nothing very much. He just knew him.

This is again one of Verges attempts to have a finger in another African country.

I didn't mention, with Phombeah, one of the reasons that he (Verges) kept Phombeah was Phombeah's connection with Odinga, in Kenya. Phombeah at one time had hoped to be made the secretary of this new Lumumba Institute there, in Nairobi. Verges, odd as it may seem, had at one time, proposed himself as a sort of security adviser to Odinga. We felt that he continued to pay Dennis Phombeah for doing nothing mainly to keep a line of communication open to Odinga. He had met Odinga but got nowhere with him. In Algiers he was a friend of Le Chinois

President of Mali,
Modibo Keita. Married to a French woman. Leftist.
He knows Verges through friendship and offered to help. He put him
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When Chou en Lai visited Mali you recall that he got quite a committed welcome in Mali. And there were some gratuitous open-handed slaps the Russians made. Didn't have to be made but were.

(How did Verges and Diallo get together)

I don't know. He had known him for a considerable time. There is nothing very much. This is again one of Verges's attempts to have a finger in another African country. One of the reasons that he kept Phombeah was Phombeah's connection with Odinga.

→ insert from page 3a . . .

If in Algiers he was referred to as Le Chinois (as he was), I don't think the Kenyans would accept him.

This is a real problem. He says, "well, we colored people and so forth" and it is true that he is part - he's Eurasian, but it is very hard for Africans to accept that. They just put him down as Chinese.

I don't know very much about Demba Diallo. He played very little role in the Magazine except that he was a contact inside of Mali. He came to France early last year, the spring of last year (64), with his wife. He went to Vichy for his health and drank the waters for two or three weeks and he saw Verges. Verges had ideas, had mentioned to Ken that if he couldn't keep the magazine going he might go to Mali. Ken was going to be sent off to wherever, Viriato da Cruz of the Angolan Federation of Liberation, as adviser, and I was going to be sent to Indonesia for the Afro-Asian Journalists. That was how he was going to take care of everybody.

(How about Castro Da Silva)

Castro Da Silva is the pseudonym used for Viriato da Cruz, formerly of the MPLA, and now of the UPA. He is a poet, again, in the late thirties, married, has a child and is based more or less in Algiers. He has virtually no money at all. He has a small group which went into the UPA.

Holden Roberto, the head of the UPA is very suspicious of him. but nevertheless he needs him. He needs the Left. He has been to China and this give him a sort of gives the Chinese a guarantee, but on the other hand the Chinese didn't even want to give Viriato money to transfer

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himself from Algiers to Brazzaville. And he was threatened by the MPLA people, who are of course Soviet-backed to the hilt, in fact more so Dr. Neto, apparently more than ever now. And the Algerians, Ben Bella, who had supported the MPLA up until the great fiasco when people discovered that they didn't have what they claimed to have — have given their support to the UPA. Nevertheless, the MPLA people still remain and they are promising to reform and really carry out things. I think that ~~logically~~ ideologically the MPLA is much more congenial to the Algerians ~~than~~ and to all of the hard revolutionary line people.

Holden Roberto is considered to be an American agent pure and simple and always has been. In actual fact, he received a lot of money through various Protestant missionary groups, American Protestant ~~missionaries.~~ missionary groups, ~~And~~ he himself is a Christian Protestant. These tie-ups have helped the Rightists to back him. He did go off to China, made some talk ... which the Chinese were pleased with.

The Chinese haven't made any real decisive choice between the MPLA and the UPA. They're just waiting to see who is going to be able to produce.

((What about da Cruz? What is his function))

He has no function except to write articles about Angola, which he has done, one of which he signed with his own name. He has very little money and he hoped that Verges would be able to smooth the way with the Chinese, but alas! poor fellow, he learnt to his horror, I understand, that Verges was by no means the Chinese agent that he ~~supposed~~ presumed him to be. I understand that he has virtually retired from politics . He is a poet. And he'd much rather be a poet than anything else. He told me on several occasions ~~that~~ in Paris when he came to my house there for dinner that he really wished he could get out of the whole thing, but what was he going to do, he didn't have a passport, he had ~~at these~~ all these people sort of pushing him in into this. He didn't have any money. He didn't know what to do.

((He lives in Paris))

No, he lives in Algiers. He is still in Algiers to the best of my knowledge. He is one of the people in Algiers I would see. If I were to go to Algiers I would ~~xxxxxxx~~ look him up. He's not terribly dynamic but events ~~xxxxxx~~ threw him up into a leading position and he sort of stuck there and doesn't know how to get out. The Chinese haven't given him the all-out support that he had hoped for

((Neither have they turned him down))

No.

((Amilcar Cabrera))

That was a name used, not a pseudonym, a false name. It doesn't represent anyone, it represents the FALN, of Venezuela in Europe. They have a bureau in France. I didn't really know them. I knew there were several people. One of them, a graphic artist, some of whose drawings ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ were printed in Revolution. They brought the things ~~to him~~. They are authentic. Because when Verges had a young French boy traveling through Latin America he went to Venezuela. They got him into the guerrillas. They got him all around. We had some very authentic first-hand reports. So whoever they are they are authentic. They were very, very cautious, probably suspicious of me because I was an American, so I never had any real ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ conversation with them.

((Do you known anything about who Verges's link to them was))

No.

((Do you know if he still has them))

I know this, that they asked him to remove the name Amilcar Cabrera and it has been removed, because it was identified with them. ~~So~~ He then put in a note in the twelfth French edition that in the future he would receive an article from the information department of the FALN. They'd be foolish not to send material, but they didn't want to be identified with the editorial policy of the magazine. This many reflect verious tendencies inside of the FALN which I have read about. I don't know anything first-hand — that they split between a hard line, those who want to continue the guerrilla struggle and the sabotage struggle and those who want to look for possible negotiated solutions. One group ~~that is~~ a little more pro-Chinese.

In any case these people did represent the FALN, there is no doubt about it. I didn't know any of them. They never had any dealings with me.

((Patricia Magowan))

I know very little about her. She did this book on Portugal. She was connected with the —— she has ties with the British Communist Party but also with British Trotskyists. She was the one who found Rosalind Ainslee to work here in London for the magazine. She is the mistress of a man named Carlos

~~(Daix)~~ (Lanca?))

I'm not certain. That might be it. He is a European born in Mozambique, a Portuguese, who has beenkept going by various African movements for years because he represents (laughing) ~~to be~~ what the French call an interlocateur, when they want to call him out

He represents nothing. He's a sort of hopeless person. She's a very dynamic woman. Verges claimed that she had become a police informer, for the Algerian police, and that she talks to opposite groups occasionally, and to Mamani of the Salava party in Algiers. But she no longer has anything to do with Revolution Africaine. She didn't have anything to do with Verges after the moment that she refused to go to Lausanne.

((Why))

Why did she refuse to go? Well, she couldn't leave Carlos there by himself. God knows what would happen to him. Secondly, she wanted to be in the spot in Algiers. She wasnt interested in running a magazine in Switzerland, the magazine interest was secondary to her.

There was another Portuguese-speaking person in Algiers. That was a man by the name of Aquino Braganza. Braganza is a Goan and Goan who has lost his reason for being; with the end of the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa, he should have gone back! But he had been a Goan revolutionary with the Portuguese opposition. For years he had been in Rabat hooked up to the, at that time it was the CONCP, Conference Nationaliste des Colonies Portuguese, which grouped together what later came to be the Falimo and the MPLA. It was part of the hard line countries There was another one elsewhere which was soft line. Braganza was also sort of adviser to the magazine Revolution Africaine on questions of India and so on. He stayed on and worked with Mohammed Harbi and came to London.

((Did he have anything to do with Patricia Mcgowan))

Yes. They had been together in Rabat.

((Did he have anything to do with Carlos))

Yes. It's all the same crowd. But Carlos was waiting for destiny to call him and Braganza had already lost his chance. The Indians had got in. They'd liberated Goa, so what next, you know. Go back to India. He obviously wasn't going to go back. He was living too well, as it was. What was he going to do in Goa, nobody knew him in Goa. He was a Goan educated in Portugal. One of these people without a real national identity. He knew that he wasn't Portuguese and had this feeling of alienation from Portugal, which made him like most of the colonial students there-- the MPLA really started in Portugal- made him an oppositionist. He didn't have enough roots with the homeland. So he's just sort of floating around. His wife is a school teacher. He speaks excellent French. He was working for Revolution Africaine. I don't know if he still is. I'm certain he'll find something to do. He'll never go back to Goa.

((This points up the need for a continuing revolution, when the revolution is completed))

Yes. You don't have jobs unless you're in the government. And that's a problem, too. In his case, he never really did much, wasn't even a real revolutionary, just a bureaucrat in Rabat and other places.

((How did Macgowan get involved with Verges))

That I don't know. I don't know how he knew her in the beginning. I imagine he met her in Rabat. He used to go to Morocco quite often and had contact with all the African, the race people there. I suspect that's where he met her.

((So much for those guys))

Now you've got Harbi. He was the person who replaced Verges. He's out now, but I'm told by Andersson, who has his ear to the ground in Algiers as well as in Switzerland, that Harbi is still in a very good position. He is one of the leading advisers to Ben Bella, represents the Left position. He's a Trotskyist, or a Trotskyist sympathiser without any formal organizational ties. He is very close to the Pablo. That's Michel Walter. He's Pablo, we could'nt have overlooked him, he's a feature of Algiers life. He played an extremely important role in the agrarian reform, in the type of agrarian reform that was going to be carried out. He came down on the Yugoslav model, that is collectives which are privately owned by the collectives and run on the profit model, that is profit basis.

Harbi, they were all inside of this Bureau des Biens Vacants which then became the Bureau of the Socialist Sector. I once did an article for the Monthly Review, so I know all about how it operated. What really happened was that the Europeans fled just before and just after Independence, or rather should have, considering what they had done. But they had expected a blood bath. The blood bath never took place. It was an incredible. That was one of the most incredible things to me in Algeria was that the Algerians didn't — — — — ——

Because the stories were horrifying. You know what happened. A month or so before, they were just shooting everybody on the street, trying to provoke them, and the discipline of the FLN was incredible. Nobody would shoot back, no matter what they did. So they fled and they left all these farms. It was a question of ploughing and seeding. There is only a certain time of year that you have to do this. This had to be organized and it was organized almost spontaneously locally. And then this was sort of institutionalized later, as an accomplished fact. They wanted some sort of a socialist system . . .

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didn't know how and the institutionalizing of it was really directed by these Trotskyists. There was Pablo, Harbi, a French lawyer named Matthieu from Grenoble who had been involved with the FLN, and he became sort of legal adviser of Biens Vacants, which was vaguely under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture which was at that time under Omar Usgan who is now Minister of State, and Director of Revolution Africaine at present. He replaced Harbi.

Harbi is deeply resented by the army elements which are pro-Egyptian. However, the Army, despite its religious inclination, had its socialist bias and would like to see more centralization, more on an Egyptian model. In other words, they would like to see much more control from the center than this confused type of regional or local control. They feel that in the long run the business of the private collective ownership is going to cause trouble. It's all right if it is a rich one, but what happens if you are in a poor one? You don't split a profit, you split a deficit. Obviously, according to the Yugoslav model, the state intervenes. The State taxes the rich ones and then distributes subsidies to the poor ones, but this a debate that is still going on in Algeria. Curiously enough these Trotskyists have been in contact, very close contact, with the Yugoslavs. As you recall, the campaign, the so-called campagne de labeur, the ploughing, was made possible only by the delivery of 500 Yugoslav tractors which turned out to the great deception of some of the Algerians not to be Yugoslav but to be American tractors put together in Yugoslavia under license.

((This is getting us a little bit far afield))

This is Harbi and this is the group. Harbi represents the leading spokesmen of this sort of Trotskyist-leaning Left group within the FLN, and his post is still very high, even though he is no longer Director.

((When was he dropped))

I think last summer. I'm not certain. With Usgan it has become much more ________________ the word Socialism appears in Arabic because it is felt that Socialism in French doesn't have the same meaning as it has in Arabic. It's very silly, represents the very muddled mind that Usgan has. He is very much split between his religious (and political) inclinations. Usgan is a full member of the Communist party of Algeria but he left for nationalist reasons when they refused to support the rebellion, and joined the FLN. His wife is supposed to be fanatically religious and has made him more religious than he was.

(Curious mix-up - - this religion and politics.)

(Returning to our first subject, Strelkoff. Is he a practicing Jew?)

No.

(Just an ethnic Jew)

Yes.

(Next on the list here is Robert Williams. Whoever made this up calls him an American in Peking.) But where was he now

He's in Havana. He was in Peking recently and he may still be there, for that matter. He went on a second trip to the Far East. He was in one of the countries that had a celebration. I think he was in Hanoi, if I'm not mistaken. He was in Asia. He may still be there.

Robert Williams is a Negro, former President of the Union County North Carolina branch of the NAACP, who had a hell of a battle on his hands against the local KuKlux Klan and discovered that the best way to deal with the KuKlux Klan was to shoot back at them. And it worked. They never had seen it, in that part of the south, anyway, the small towns of the South. Up until recently there's been sort of gentlemen's agreement in the south that the Negro civil rights groups would go into the big cities, where they would be reasonably protected. But they had to leave the rural areas alone because they couln't expect much. Williams of course, was a great embarrassment to everybody, there is no doubt, and they were on his back. He got no sympathy from the NAACP leadership. He first came to national prominence after a case of obvious injustice where a white man had done something to a Negro woman and some local jury had thrown it out. He said, "well if we can't get justice in the courts we'll have to take justice in our own hands." But even the fact that Negroes would fight back got the older, more conservative Negro leaders very upset. He was immediately, People came to his support, particularly the Trotskyites, not the Communists, came in, and tried to take him over. They did give him some support. There had been a case before, another case, locally called the Kissing case. Two Negro boys, you may have heard of it, were sentenced to indefinite terms in prison for having kissed a six-year-old white girl. He was involved in that and again, it was the Trotskyites who came to his support with other liberal groups. In terms of organizational support it was the Trotskyites. I heard of him at the time I was in CBS and I thought that it was very understandable and sent him a message of support. I met him at the time of the NAACP Conference in New York in 1959 and when the FPCC was formed he was among the eight Negroes who were among the 30 founding members, to the great shock of

of the Communist Party of the United States, which did not particularly approve of seeing the two issues mixed, Cuba and Negroes.

Williams, very volatile, a very determined person, on a local level, has no ability whatsoever on a national level. He has become a symbol now to Negro youth in particular, as a Negro who is not an Uncle Tom, who will fight back. We knew what was coming in the summer of 61, ~~perhaps it was before. . . no~~ Obviously it was an embarrassment, for the national executive of the NAACP, embarrassment for the Justice Department, and more than embarrassment for Terry Sanford, who was the Governor, and who told him, "I wish you were dead. Period." Finally, by one of these flukes of fate, there was a demonstration over a swimming pool. They (the Negroes) didn't want to integrate the pool. They just wanted to swim in it. But the local people said they didn't want to do that because they would have to change the water, and it would take too much time to change the water after Negroes swam in the water. So they had some demonstrations. Williams was almost murdered on one of these occasions. The demonstrations were getting pretty violent. Then King sent in some Freedom Riders who were going to show them how non-violence was going to work in this town. They decided to make an example. So Williams said, "I'm going to get out of this. I don't want anything to do with your non-violence. But you go ahead and I'll see what happens."

Well the non-violent demonstration became even more violent. There were people shot. There were arrests. There was an English girl who now figures here in the British Trotskyist party, who was over there. People were coming from all over, there were reports in the European press. ~~The rumor went around~~ -- Williams now had nothing to do with this. He was just sort of staying there saying well you see where non-violence gets you-- but there was a report that they were going to lynch the people who had been arrested. As often happens in this type of thing the Negroes and whites, outside whites who were involved, really came in for a hell of a beating, and as in the Philadelphia Mississippi case, they even have been killed. Williams was more or less a victim of the mob in the Negro community which said "we've got to do something. We've got to free these people and get them out of jail."

He had arms, including machine guns, which had been purchased in New York and sent down there. They didn't use them because they got scared, but they had arms. The community was armed. The people were out in the street in front of his house, when a car with a white couple, came down the road. It was surrounded and the couple was told to get out. The crowd wanted to string them up right there. This man came from a neighboring

town, claimed had lost their way. They said, no you're a member of the Klan in this town. They wanted to kill him or hold him as hostage. Williams said, "bring these people in my house and you know I won't let them go." He called the Sheriff and said, "Look, I have these people here and my people are very upset and I want you to know that I don't want anything to happen to our people that you have in the jail." The Sheriff immediately called the National Guard, State Troopers and what not. They couldn't hold out very long. Williams escaped. Julian Mayfield was there, a well known Negro writer who now lives in Ghana as a result of this. Minnie Mallory, a Negro woman from New York who was there was later arrested and convicted and sentenced to 16 years in prison for kidnapping and the case is on appeal now. Williams was spirited across the United States—I knew vaguely where he was, but he kept very careful, by Cubans and by Negro groups in contact with the Cubans, to Canada, from Canada he was flown by private plane and by Castro himself, to Havana, where he is now.

On two occasions the FBI came to me asking for information about Williams, and I damn sure wasn't going to give any [illegible] of what I knew. We had tried to get in touch with Bobby Kennedy himself. I had sent telegrams. I even tried to get a telephone call in. Because I knew what was going to happen on this thing, to get some kind of Federal intervention. It was one of the most sickening things that I ever saw. They wanted him out of the way. Even the way they came to me later—two of the agents came to the FPCC office in New York. They said, "We have 500 agents. We'll get him. He'll never get away." Well, he was away at that point. His aunt died in New York around that time. They went to the funeral parlor where the body was and put a wanted poster for Williams, on the coffin and stood there to see if he would come. Really, they should have been thrown out on their heads, frankly. If it hadn't been Negroes I'm certain they would never have done that sort of thing. The trouble was—the trouble is—the whole attitude. Anyhow, as it is, Williams is not a Communist, he's not a Trotskyite. He's a former Marine, who's just had enough. Really, you know. And now he has turned into a world-wide figure because people like Bobby Kennedy and others could not bother to try to see what could be done about it. It was no use, though. I mean, it's no use now. [illegible]
I'm certainly [illegible] and everybody."

Well, that's too bad. Just like the case of these boys, Walter Bow, and so on. And they're not the only ones. For every Walter Bow there must be at least a hundred. I must say, I would no more want to live in the States now — you're going to really see something. I don't really

~~Xxxxxxxxx~~

Verges wanted somebody from Pakistan on the board. He (Alavi) said "I'm certain that the Mulana Bashani Kahn will agree".

((That would be Mulana Abdul Hamid Bashani))

That's right. He's sometimes called Kahn as a title of respect. He's a 70 or 80 years old man. He's called the Red Mullah, sort of like the Red Dean of Canterbury.

He's the leader of one of the East Pakistan parties. He had been to China and was quite pro-Chinese. He was more than willing. But he had absolutely no contact whatever with the magazine.

((Did he come in to replace Hamza Alavi))

Yes.

((How long did Hamza Alavi work with the magazine))

You would have to check the issues of the English edition. He was there until slightly before we dropped Rosalind Ainslee. That would be May of 63. right up to spring of 64.

((Did Hamza Alavi do anything actually)) ~~or did he just~~

He found manuscripts and so on. He actually did the work that Phombeah never did. But that was all. And it was sort of contre coeur with him because he did not agree with the thing. He had the idea that the magazine was an open forum, sort of rostrum for debate between all sorts of revolutionary movements. But when it became very obvious that Verges wanted to try, at that time, at least, to stay with the Chinese line, it particularly because of ~~the state of his~~ his feelings about the situation in Pakistan and he wasn't happy. Also on the question of India, he felt that the Chinese position vis-a-vis India wasn't just, and he didn't like the hook-up ~~between Pakistani~~ the growing friendship and actual solidarity between Pakistan and China.

((So he was through amicably. What is the present relationship betweenAlavi and Verges))

I doubt if he has any at all. He is very active here in London with Pakistani groups. He has money. His wife"s family has money, his own family has. It wasn't a question of money for him.

((Has he continued to be active in AfroAsian things))

He's an academic. ~~Xxxxx~~ The Socialist Register published last year ~~by~~ an article on Imperialism by him. He is active around the London School of Economics. He is known to the academic Left, friends with the boys who do Left Review and so on. His only practical work would be working with Pakistani groups, for instance during the last election

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the Tories ran in several constituencies Pakistani independent candidates in the hope of breaking the Labor vote, hoping that the Pakistanis would vote for these Pakistani independents. Hamza worked with the Labor Party in those constituencies, to counter this, in fact they were quite successful. He has very good connections inside the Labor Party. And he does not have very good ties at all with the Communist Party, though he is not by any means anti-Communist. He's a skeptic.

(How about Bashani)

He has never done anything. Never heard from him except once when he said we could put his name on the board. As far as I know there has never been any contact.

(Do they get paid for this)

No.

Next is Hassan Riad. He is S. Amir. He is an official of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, with headquarters in Dakar, UN economic adviser in Dakar. He has a very high position inthat. He is Egyptian, a full member of the Egyptian Communist Party with very very pronounced Trotskyist views. That is, he feels, he has a theory about the role of bureaucracy in under-developed countries - the progressive and reactionary bureaucracy- fits into general Trotskyist theories but applied there. He has done work on Egypt, state capitalism in Egypt. A book of his published recently by Edition de Minuit in Paris, part of which appeared in Revolution. Some of it was so obviously Trotskyist that Kien, despite his somewhat partial agreement with parts of it felt that it was too obvious even to print in Revolution. He only comes through Paris occasionaly. His main interest in REvolution is getting his things printed. He is very interested in having his things published. He is very cynical about many of the African States. His article on Senegal appeared recently in Revolution, in French, I think in No. 12. It was written under a pseudonym and based on the UN Economic Commission for Africa research, stuff that he couldn't say in his official capacity. (Like Jalet, yes.

He is not overly pro-Chinese. He feels that the Chinese philosophical position isn't quite adequate, the ideological model isn't adequate for under undeveloped countries, certainly for Africa.

(Do you know him- How old is he)

Yes I know him. He is in his thirties. About 35. Married. He is Egyptian. He is anti-Nasser really. He feels that the Egyptian Communist Party is, because they are [illegible], has really abdicated any constructive role inside Egypt, even from the

concentration camps where they were held putting out secret clandestine tracts supporting Nasser, which was the craziest thing I've ever heard. Now they've been liberated - in fact the old Communists are now being given very high organizational posts in the new Egyptian Party,

Communism and Marxism are extraneous to Arab socialism but they are very useful people so they use them in there. And the group that are under Soviet influence are perfectly willing to go along with this.

Q ((Is he pro-anything in Egypt))

No, I think that he is sort of resigned to the events of history. He analyzes what he considers state capitalist developments, the rise of a new bureaucratic middle class, the officer caste and he tries to show in his writings how the officer caste has crushed the old land-owning Wafdist ruling class which had its links with British and French financial interests, and has now consolidated itself in power, and there is a certain social mobility, but for them only. In other words, how limited it is and the officer caste certain of its fonctionnaires — but still the problem of the masses remains.

((does he concern himself very much with the state of Egypt?))

From an academic point of view only. He's more academic. He's not even particularly concerned wih revolution. If you want his address . .

Now who do we have- Marcos Ferrer- that's Colombia. I don't know anything about it. It probably stands for Dr. Leiva SEMPER of the MOEC IN Paris. He is a Colombian doctor, the representative in Paris of the MOEC. He is the one who conducted negotiations with Verges for a Spanish edition in Colombia. I assume Marcos Ferrer to be a pseudonym.

Frene Ginwalla, next on the list, is a member of the Indian Congress for South Africa. She was a correspondent of Revolution in Dar es Salaan and she published a magazine called Spearhead until she was expelled from Tanganyika under a cloud and accused of being a Western spy. The accusations were not made openly. She was known to have contacts with the West German Embassy. She received West German money from the Carl Ebert Foundation and actually printed West German propaganda in her magazine. She had gone to West Germany and done this so obviously that she couldn't have been very sophisticated about it because it was just too (open). She was accused of having offered to carry information for the Soviet Embassy, volunteering as a South African Communist, to give them information, two-thirds of which turned out to be totally useless and false, which again might have been to ingratiate herself. She was here in London after she was

expelled, I'm not certain of the exact dates. She was also known to have slept around with almost every Minister of the Tanganyikan government including Julius Nyerere. This is one of the reasons why there was so much hushhush about her, that she had obviously gotten a lot of information out of these fellows. She was very close to Oscar Kambona and she claimed that Oscar Kambona was going to get her back into the Foreign Ministry.

She was just Revolution's correspondent there. She did practically nothing. When she got out, she managed to keep her little office going. They didn't seize anything, and she turned over the mailing list of her Spearhead magazine to Revolution. Verges had paid her £1000 for a deposit so she could do some work but she really didn't do anything, but she, unlike Rosalind Ainslie, turned over the unspent portion of that to Verges when she came to London. She wasn't interested really in continuing her work with Revolution. Being Indian of course posed a problem for her with anything to do with the Chinese. She was very close to the Indian community, as anyone who looks through that mailing list will see we have lots of missionaries, Indian businesses, and so forth in East Africa, who were taking subscriptions to the magazine more or less out of friendship and solidarity with another Indian. They didn't care much whether she was a Communist or not.

She was supposed to have been the mistress of Dr. Dadu. At least they say she slept with Dr. Dadu and they had a very close relationship to him. Dr. Dadu is the president of the Indian Congress for South Africa and a member of the Communist Party of South Africa, a very important member. Because the Indian community has holdings up and down East Africa, Mozambique as well, their role in the liberation struggle is very equivocal. Obviously the Africans want to go ahead while the Indians are thinking - well - Africanization menaced them - the Indians. The English used them as a sort of buffer, preferred to bring an Indian clerk to East Africa rather than to train an African. That was a typical colonial maneuver but now it has put the Indians in a situation historically which is untenable, for a long period. You know people talk about multi-racial states but in East Africa it is a joke. It won't hold up. I don't think it will, anyway.

The Indian Congress of South Africa is related to the African National Congress, the Colored people's congress, all of this in a so-called Congress Alliance. She had contacts with the Africans - the ANC people. the ANC people here in London. They were suspicious of her as well. But she managed somehow to get back in. she was ill, she was in hospital She was hurt in an auto accident and she had to have a very complicated bone operation . That put her out of action for some time. I don't know, but I heard that she is now back in Tanganyika. She may well be. She has quite a bit of money; her family has money. Of course the Indians do have money. She did very little for the magazine. She occasionally told me about people in the ANC who might do something for the magazine. But most of the people she told me abut were members of the South African Communist Party. That party has taken a pro-Moscow stand and most of its people don't want to do anything for Revolution, though we did have articles by Bryan Bunk another South African Communist. That was before their party took their stand on the Sino-Soviet conflict. And there is a struggle going on right now inside of the ANC. That's a long complicated thing. That has nothing to do with Revolutin.

(On my list here we have Diallo)

Diallo is an adviser of the President of Mali- what's his name- Modewa Keida.

Married to a French woman, a Leftist, he knows Verges through friendship and offered to help. He put him in contact with ______ who is Minister of Information, who is very, very pro-Chinese.

(In Mali)

Yes. When Chou en Lai visited Mali, you recall, that he got quite committed. There were some gratuitous, open handed slaps

There's nothing very much. He just knew him.

This is again one of Verges attempts to have a finger in another African country.

I didn't mention, with Phombeah, one of the reasons that he kept Phombeah was Phombeah's connection with Odinga, of in Kenya. Phombeah at one time had hoped to be made the secretary of this new Lumumba Institute there, in Nairobi. Verges, odd as it may seem, had at one time, proposed himself as a sort of security adviser to Odinga. We felt that he continued to pay Dennis Phombeah for doing nothing mainly to keep a line of communication open to Odinga. He had met Odinga but got nowhere with him. In Algiers he was [illegible] Le Chinois

President of Mali,
Modibo Keita. Married to a French woman. Leftist.
He knows Verges through friendship and offered to help. He put him in contact with a man by the name of Mogotogo (?) who is Minister of Information, who is very very pro-Chinese.

When Chou en Lai visited Mali you recall that he got quite a committed welcome in Mali. And there were some gratuitous open-handed slaps the Russians made. Didn't have to be made but were.

(How did Verges and Diallo get together)

I don't know. He had known him for a considerable time. There is nothing very much. This is again one of Verges's attempts to have a finger in another African country. One of the reasons that he kept Phombeah was Phombeah's connection with Odinga.

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If in Algiers he was referred to as Le Chinois (as he was), I don't think the Kenyans would accept him.

This is a real problem. He says, "well, we colored people and so forth" and it is true that he is part - he's Eurasian, but it is very hard for Africans to accept that. They just put him down as Chinese.

I don't know very much about Demba Diallo. He played very little role in the Magazine except that he was a contact inside of Mali. He came to France early last year, the spring of last year (64), with his wife. He went to Vichy for his health and drank the waters for two or three weeks and he saw Verges. Verges had ideas, had mentioned to Ken that if he couldn't keep the magazine going he might go to Mali. Ken was going to be sent off to wherever Viriato da Cruz of the Angolan Federation of Liberation was, as adviser, and I was going to be sent to Indonesia for the Afro-Asian Journalists. That was how he was going to take care of everybody.

(How about Castro Da Silva)

Castro Da Silva is the pseudonym used for Viriato da Cruz, formerly of the MPLA, and now of the UPA. He is a poet, again, in the late thirties, married, has a child and is based more or less in Algiers. He has virtually no money at all. He has a small group which went into the UPA.

Holden Roberto, the head of the UPA is very suspicious of him. but nevertheless he needs him. He needs the Left. He has been to China and this give him a sort of, gives the Chinese a guarantee, but on the other hand the Chinese didn't even want to give Viriato money to transfer

himself from Algiers to Brazzaville. And he was threatened by the MPLA people, who are of course Soviet-backed to the hilt, in fact more so Dr. Neto, apparently, more than ever now. And the Algerians, Ben Bella, who had supported the MPLA up until the great fiasco when people discovered that they didn't have what they claimed to have — didn't have the fighting forces — have given their support to the UPA. Nevertheless, the MPLA people still remain and they are promising to reform and really carry out things. I think that ideologically the MPLA is much more congenial to the Algerians and to all of the hard revolutionary line people.

Holden Roberto is considered to be an American agent pure and simple and always has been. In actual fact, he received a lot of money through various Protestant missionary groups, American Protestant missionary groups. He himself is a Christian Protestant. These tie-ups have helped the Rightists to back him. He did go off to China, made some statements which the Chinese were pleased with.

The Chinese haven't made any real decisive choice between the MPLA and the UPA. They're just waiting to see who is going to be able to produce.

((What about da Cruz? What is his function))

He has no function except to write articles about Angola, which he has done, one of which he signed with his own name. He has very little money and he hoped that Verges would be able to smooth the way with the Chinese, but alas! poor fellow, he learnt to his horror, I understand, that Verges was by no means the Chinese agent that he presumed him to be. I understand that he has virtually retired from politics . He is a poet. And he'd much rather be a poet than anything else. He told me on several occasions in Paris when he came to my house there for dinner that really he wished he could get out of the whole thing, but what was he going to do, he didn't have a passport, he had all these people sort of pushing him in into this. He didn't have any money. He didn't know what to do.

((He lives in Paris))

No, he lives in Algiers. He is still in Algiers to the best of my knowledge. He is one of the people in Algiers I would see. If I were to go to Algiers I would look him up. He's not terribly dynamic but events threw him up into a leading position and he sort of stuck there and doesn't know how to get out. The Chinese haven't given him the all-out support that he had hoped for

((Neither have they turned him down))

No.

((Amilcar Cabrera))

That was a name used, not a pseudonym, a false name. It doesn't represent anyone, it represents the FALN, of Venezuela in Europe. They have a bureau in France. I didn't really know them. I knew there were several people. One of them, a graphic artist, some of whose drawings were printed in Revolution. They brought the things ~~to him~~. They are authentic. Because when Verges had a young French boy traveling through Latin America he went to Venezuela. They got him into the guerrillas. They got him all around. We had some very authentic first-hand reports. So whoever they are they are authentic. They were very, very cautious, probably suspicious of me because I was an American, so I never had any real conversation with them.

((Do you known anything about who Verges's link to them was))

No.

((Do you know if he still has them))

I know this, that they asked him to remove the name Amilcar Cabrera and it has been removed, because it was identified with them. So he then put in a note in the twelfth French edition that in the future he would receive an article from the information department of the FALN. They'd be foolish not to send material, but they didn't want to be identified with the editorial policy of the magazine. This many reflect various tendencies inside of the FALN which I have read about. I don't know anything first-hand, that they split between a hard line, those who want to continue the real guerrilla struggle and the sabotage struggle and those who want to look for possible negotiated solutions. One group ~~that is~~ a little more pro-Chinese.

In any case these people did represent the FALN, there is no doubt about it. I didn't know any of them. They never had any dealings with me.

((Patricia McGowan))

I know very little about her. She did this book on Portugal. She was connected with the —— she has ties with the British Communist Party but also with British Trotskyists. She was the one who found Rosalind Ainslie to work here in London for the magazine. She is the mistress of a man named Carlos

((Lanca?))

I'm not certain. That might be it. He is a European born in Mozambique, a Portuguese, who has been kept going by various African movements for years because he represents (laughing) what the French call an interlocateur, when they want to call him out

obviously Neto does ~~xxxxx~~ have some American support as well or had some American support. His father did, I think.

((Do you know Michael Tabasa))

No, never heard of him.

((We come to Maspero))

Maspero is just a third-generation French elite intellectual who has a little bit of money, runs a publishing house, and magazine, and who is extremely non-committed in his Left commitment. In other words he is a leftist but he is not a member of any party and is not really involved in active politics. His magazine more and more is taken over by Trotskyists at present. That was not always the case. He came really to the fore with the Algerian War. Considering the failure of the French Communist Party to do anything about ~~the~~ the Algerian question, it was intellectuals, the ~~the left~~ Intellectuals who were out of the party who responded, who made up the Jensen network, the support ~~network~~ for the ~~the~~ FLN underground in France, and who did the propaganda work and who gave the support. If ~~is~~ the FLN had French support it was among these people, not among the Communist party.

((Verges consistent efforts to))

Yes. To wean ~~[illegible]~~ away authors (from Maspero). Hassan Riab wrote for him. Chalion, whom he got for Revolution Africaine wrote for him and now is back again working for him, writing for him. ~~Caswell~~ also. ~~Chen~~ also. Almost everyone. Even I knew him because he published student material and he used ~~to things to~~ _______________ in the States and I had correspondence and I used to send him material that we had.

((The competition between Verges and Maspero- was this a personal as opposed to ideological competition))

No it was personal. There is very little ideological about Verges. Verges is an extremely ~~heady~~, personal person. He is generous in many ways but ~~he~~ even his generosity is ~~[illegible]~~ personally. ~~He is either for you~~ He is a grand patron. He is extremely generous with money when he has it. He throws it around. You could never go anywhere with Verges that he doesn't ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ want to pay. When we traveled it was ~~most times~~ first class, ~~xxxxxxxxanythingxxxxxx~~ on a plane. He ~~is~~ has a deep-seated desire to be big, (he is a small man, he is short) to be talked about. He wants publicity. He wants to be known. He doesn't have any real commitments, I don't think, that are terribly deep. And I'm certain that if he were sure of money from the other side but nevertheless so that his name would stay big, I'll bet he'd. . . ~~He wants money not for himself but for prestige. After all Verges's father was the founder of the Communist Party~~

money not for itself but for prestige. After all, Verges's father was the founder of the Communist party of Reunion, member of the French Assembly. His brother is the head of the Communist party of ~~the~~ right now. He grew up in this sort of French Left-wing upper class, which in France is the hereditary Left which goes all the way back to 1848 or before. Some families were extremely distinguished. ~~They really had . . .~~ And he is in that sort of group. In France it is very much respected, just as you might respect ~~Flandeu~~ family. You know that a member of such and such a family obviously must be Left because his grandfather and his greatgrandfather were.

((Maspero again))

Maspero fits just into that category.

((That same Leftist heritage))

That's right.

((Does he run his operation on a self-sustaining commercial basis))

More or less except that for instance he published a book on China recently, which the Chinese ~~subsidizers~~ subsidized. I suspect that he has received some aid from the Italian Communist party. The Italians look with great favor on him because of his openness, his critical approach, his Anti-Stalinism. Andersson says he got money from the Chinese for this book on China.

Verges has tried desperately to smear him with the Chinese as a Trotskyite but apparently the Chinese didn't give a damn.

((You said that the Trotskyists seem to be moving in on Maspero))

Yes.

((Would they be giving him any kind of financial aid))

I really doubt it. The Trotskyists generally are poor. ~~I don't think so.~~ I think that what it is, is that he is really short of hands, short of manuscripts, short of people who can think and produce something. And here are these Trotskyist-leaning intellectuals who don't have any outlet, so naturally . . It's just that he doesn't ~~have~~ doesn't have any great sectarian feelings against them, so more and more tend to come in.

((Andre Belge))

Never heard of him.

(Neither have I. Imokay in Nigeria)

Oh, Imokay is a student. He's no bureau man at all. He was a student at the university of Nsuka. He distributed the magazine. ~~He never did anything~~ else.

He never did anything else. ~~Just a student, graduatexxxis~~ he has graduated now. I think he is working in the government somewhere.

((Did he get paid))

No- oh yes, he did, he got a commission on subscriptions. He got 30 some subscriptions from students at the university, in one week, as I recall which was unheard of. Just a student, and just by sheer chance he handled the magazine.

((Mme. Michele Mestre))

Oh, My, Michele Mestre ~~ixxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Madame Mestre I don't know anything about. Michel Mestre is one of Maspero's people. I thought it was a man. I've never met him, don't know anything about him. I know there is a Michel Mestre who has written a number of books on the Congo for Maspero. Had nothing to do with Verges although Verges did put out feelers to get this person, man or woman, to work for Revolution. He wasn't successful. It was part of his general campaign of leaving Maspero with no authors at all.

((Rosalind Ainslie))

She's married. She works for the East German news agency ~~APN~~ ADN. She is obviously connected with the South African Communist party. She is a member of the Congress Alliance in South Africa and she is married to an Indian. She has several ~~some~~ children and she lives here in London. She comes from a wealthy family in South Africa, I imagine. She was found by Patricia McGowan Pinheiro to work for Revolution. That flopped after a short period. They didn't know which way to go, to stick with the Algerians or stick with Verges. The business of the magazine being pro-Chinese by no means was obvious, nor even clear in Verges's mind. The magazine wasn't pro-Chinese for an awful long time, ~~it wasn't a question of being~~ pro-Chinese. Certainly not when I was hired. It was Algerian, that was all.

((Americans attending subversive sabotage school in Prague))

I never heard of a subversive sabotage school in Prague. The Americans that I have known (who were) going through Prague have gone to Havana.

((Between Moscow and Havana en route))

Yes. I ~~xxxx~~ don't know anything about a subversive sabotage school. I don't doubt that there might be one. I imagine there's one in Washington too.

((I never heard of it. Either one))

(Laughs)

((Current addresses of some of these people))

Well, who do you want? ~~Chen~~ Kien now, has no address. He sleeps around

everywhere. He literally was sleeping on my floor at one point. If you had told me, I could have brought my book. I gave you people whom I contacted on my trip.

Hamsa I can give you his- 74 ~~Hartford~~ Roadt London NW 11

FALN- they have an office here in London. I don't have much.

Mamani, BP 35, Plateau Saulieres, 121 Rue Mouradidesh, Algiers. I have a bigger address book at home.

(You mentioned DuBois. Do you know very much about his group in Ghana)

Dr. DuBois had a number of people around him but he was an elderly man; he was more interested in producing the African Encyclopoedia than anything else, which he did set up before his death. His wife is now one of the directors of Ghana television. She is a Ghana citizen, she has renounced her American citizenship. There are a number of people who are close to her or were close to Dr. DuBois such as Dr. Alpheus Hunton who is an American Negro who has written on Africa, and works for the enclyclopoedia, The Ghana Institute. He was a member of the Communist party of the US. I think Shirley Graham may have been a member. Certainly Dr. DuBois became a member several years before his death. At the time of his death he was extremely pro-Chinese and was very unhappy. His wife, Shirley Graham DuBois, is very pro-Chinese. There is William Gardner Smith, an American Negro writer, who works for Ghana radio and who worked with me at the AgenceFrance Presse in Paris. Smith is close to Shirley Graham, or was. ~~Mayfield.~~ There is a girl by the name of Maya Angelou, who was married, still married but separated, to form representative of the PAC in South Africa in Accra. He has been removed from his post for misappropriation of funds- Vusi Make. Those are the ones that I know of.

(Subsidiary question- Hammer and Steel)

The Hammer and Steel group in Boston is an alleged Chinese group that operates in Boston, (they are) former members of the US Communist party. After a period of inactivity it has suddenly become active and not more than a few days ago, while I was out of the country, without any effort on my behalf (i.e. my own part) they had my address here and I received two of their publications. Two recent publications ~~here in London~~, which were sent to my London address. So someone here, someplace, has sent them my new address. Very interesting that they should have it. We had an exchange between them and Revolution, but I had not kept this up. They have just formed a so-called New England party of Labor which is supposed to be the Chinese party, Marxist-Leninist party, and is opposed, and they give the reasons for

their opposition, to the progressive labor group and to the POC, Provisional Organizing Committee for a new Marxist-Leninist party which was an old pro-Albanian group. Progressive Labor is of course a split-off from the Communist party and split off because of the Cuban revolution and the civil rights question and so forth. POC has a large number of Negro and Puerto Rican members, almost the majority of them. PL has a number of Negro contacts, has been extremely active in the South but has made some serious mistakes. They had people in Monroe, North Carolina, after Williams. Taking Williams place they had a white man, which is a ridiculous thing to do. They didn't understand what ("black nationalism") nationalism means.

This new Hammer and Steel group, which has been a sort of group without a party, has now announced the formation of this New England Party of Labor which they hope will be the nucleus of a new Chinese Communist Party in the United States. But I don't know anything about them. (sic!!)

((back to Switzerland))

((How long were you in Lausanne.))

From March, 1963, to December 63. Then I used to go back every month. magazine

((What contact did you maintain there))

With Andersson.

((Did you have any American contacts))

No. What do you mean- with the American Embassy?

((Any Arab contacts))

No. Just the people that came in and out of Andersson's place. But I didn't . . Being an American I was very much aware of the fact that everybody was suspicious of me. So I made it a point not to bother.

((You talked about Drapeau Rouge. Is there any relationship with the John Llewellyn Davis Red Flag))

(laughing) Who is John Llewellyn Davis! That sounds like something out of- - - The Drapeau Rouge is a group of young, French students, university and licee students who had been connected with the youth group of the JSU which is the PSU, [a French equivalent to] the Nenni Socialist Party in France. This was their youth group. They were dissatisfied with - - for instance, the Belgian section, Arras. One of the boys had been in Chen's philosophy class in Licee had got in touch with Chen and he had given them advice and helped them to form this group, 61

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or to continue the group and it produced a news letter. He had promised them money, they put out one issue, and he never got any money. I heard that they were in contact with the Clichy group down [illegible] and were seeking some sort of recognition there, among the things that they had promised they did a self-criticism admitting that they had done wrong to have accepted Kim's supervision and saying that they will never do this again.

((John Llewellyn Davis, you say who the hell is he))

Yes.

((We talked about Pablo. Is this Michael R[illegible]))

He is a member of the Trotskyist IVth International - or was. He has been expelled for his heretical views, not that they all don't have heretical views, but his were extremely pro-Algerian. I think he has become an Algerian citizen. He is Belgian, I believe, or Dutch, but I think it is Belgian. He was arrested in Holland. He worked with the FLN during the War, went to Algeria, was arrested in Holland, spent some time in jail, was released, went to Algiers with his wife and became very active in the Bureau de Biens Vacantes, later the Bureau of the Socialist Sector. His influence has been of an ideological nature and he has very close ties with the Yugoslavs, despite his Trotskyism and he has now been expelled, he is also not at all persona non grata with the Soviets. He has a group called Pabloites.

((How did he hit on Pablo))

This was his nom de guerre, I suppose.

He represented for a while a majority tendency in the international Trotskyist movement. Being held by the American SWP Socialist Workers Party. Finally expelled. I don't know the ins and outs of the Trotskyists very much.

((When did you first run into him))

I had heard of him for years. The first time I saw him in the flesh was sitting in a cafe in Algiers. I never had anything to do with him. He used to hang out in a cafe which was right under the offices of Revolution Africaine, which was sort of a center for European Leftists and whatnot. It was called the Cafe Very (?) [illegible]

((Did he ever have anything to do with Revolution))

He made have had something to do with it later with Harbi but not under Verges.

((I meant in Europe, not Algiers.))

No, no, nothing.

((Do you know anything about the formerly dissident PDP of Montreux, Th Pro-Chinese Communist party of Switzerland)

They've got it wrong. There's only one pro-Chinese Communist party and that's the so-called ~~Parti~~ Parti Comuniste Suisse, started in Verve, Vevey not Montreux, Vevey, Nestle's headquarters. Headed by Gerard Bulliard, a small businessman who has become a member of the PLP, that the Communist Party. He went to Albania last year, last summer, as a tourist, and sold the Albanians on the idea of supporting a breakaway Marxist-Leninist party. He came back to Switzerland and with five people formed this Swiss Communist Party, which grew to the awesome size of 35 people. Andersson was hostile at first, but when the Chinese took a more or less benevolent view on it in Berne, he went along. He (Bulliard) may have received some money from the Chinese, I don't know. But we know that he received money from Albania. He became increasingly quarrelsome, he was very much worried about Andersson because Andersson was printing his newspaper, L'Etincelle (The Spark) on Andersson's offset press in Lausanne. Anderson also was recruiting people for the group and he has more connections inside the Communist party, the PLP, than Bulliard did, since Bulliard had been only a recent member. The Lausanne group became larger than the Verve group. I don't know what happened after that. But relations deteriorated rapidly and both the Albanians and the Chinese realized that they had made a drastic mistake. Bulliard then phoned the Albanians or the Chinese in Berne and told them that if he didn't receive 3000 francs by a certain time of day that he would denounce Andersson to the police. Obviously, he didn't receive the 3000 francs and he went to the police [about gun running and one thing and another - some of it fanciful some real]. Apparently they (police) knew more than Bulliard about Andersson. Then Bulliard got a delegation and went to the Federal Council, to the Parliament in Berne, and made an open public request that this foreign agent, this Swedish national, who had taken advantage of Swiss neutrality, be expelled. The Federal Police came in. They banned Revolution and there was the general blowup. They didn't get very far, except that now it is suspected that Bulliard is more or less subsidized by the Swiss police, that he is keeping his group going and it is down to about 15 people, according to Andersson. He obviously has a small amount of money which he is not getting from the Chinese. He later told Andersson definitely he proposed Andersson retire from politics, if he would be paid the sum of 5,200 Swiss francs. The reason for this was he wanted to keep the mimeograph machine that he (Andersson) had given him and he was deducting the price. I think he wanted 7,000 francs altogether for his exit from politics.

but he was willing to deduct the price of the mimeograph machine. He didn't receive that either. So he can't be considered very (important). At one point, to show you how silly he is, he was in contact with Kevin ? DELVIN ! Delman of Radio Free Europe, in Munich, asking him to organize a meeting for him there. This I found out ~~throu~~ through the Congress for Cultural Freedom people. [illegible] with his furniture business and his wine business. He also sells wine.

(Relationship of Revolution and persons involved in with the ~~New~~ ~~Leftreview~~ Left review in Great Britain)

They didn't particularly agree with the views of Revolution but they were sympathetic nevertheless. They are leftists, some inside the Labor Party, people like ~~Balo~~ Thomas ~~Balig~~ Balogh, one of the economic advisers. They are very well connected here (Labour Party). They helped us here for a while. Hamsa Alavi had friends (among them). Dennis Phombeah also knew the editors, Perry Anderson, Roger Murray, who is now in Ghana, professor Hodgkins of the African Study Institute in Accra. There was no connection other than that, sympathetic cooperation. They were willing to help. Their views are quite different. They're not Communists. We weren't Communists either.

(They didn't buy space. You just swapped ads)

Yes. That's a normal arrangement between magazines. You exchange advertising.

(Movement for Colonial Freedom)

With Movement for Colonial Freedom it was the same thing. We got very little real cooperation from ~~themxxthem~~ Movement for Colonial Freedom. We exchanged ads, they promised to accept subscriptions on our behalf but John Eber, who is the Secretary, was very much afraid that he might lose Algerian support, because Movement for Colonial Freedom ~~did~~ depends on getting support from all different African countries, Asian countries, etc. Therefore anything that might be anti-governmental in terms of Algeria he was very much afraid of. He is an ex-Communist. He told me - "What are you doing going around with Phombeah? He has been here with Harbi, the week before you came with him. Which side are they on?" Phombeah walked in just as he ~~xxxxx~~ (Eber) was saying this, and overheard it. He was very embarrassed, but he had to go on with it. Phombeah said, "I'm just helping all the brothers- -" (laughing) He was hopeless.

I have both children home now. This is mid-term, so the little boy is out.

My exact address: 30 Stockleigh Hall   an apartment house on Prince Albert Road, 21-31 entrance. 4th floor.

(Cannot give definitive answer for some time, would advise- play it reasonably safe, maintain access you have or could reestablish.)

My problem is short-range. I need money by next week. I have people who want me to write things. The things about Revolution, nobody particularly will care about. That's no embarrassment to anybody. Not even to the Chinese. Andersson said in fact they would be rather pleased with it, if somebody would finally get this off their backs, because they can't say anything at all. I'm committed to write the article for Encounter. There's a letter, which is appearing in the current issue of the China Quarterly. The question is what to do with the Atlantic Monthly people.

I've got to arrange something quickly. I didn't expect the situation to crop up quite so quickly as this. It was relatively well taken care of when I left here, with my brother-in-law but my wife has gone and fixed up, loused up things with her brother which makes it extremely difficult. I can probably get some more money, but not very much more out of the Encounter people. They have already given me a large sum of money, more than they expected, they expected Atlantic Monthly to come through and pick up part of it, which they never did. Now it is a question of exchange of letters. Just one or two mis-steps and the whole thing... So far as Revolution is concerned, I can continue this article, but I have the problem of getting money. That should be self-evident.

Anyway, I shall try to hold things off. I'm going to try to see if I can arrange something as a temporary emergency measure this afternoon. If I can and if I'm successful, then everything will be all right till the end of next week.

(I can let you have $200 this afternoon.)

That would certainly be a great, That would be very helpful. That would solve my needs-- Thirty-five pounds. How much is £35 in dollars?

(Under $150.00)

That's what I need. That's what I actually need immediately. If I take care of that I'm off the hook until next week. Now I've got to go and clear myself with Lasky of Encounter. You haven't been in touch with Lasky in any way, have you, with these Encounter people?

(No)

Well, somebody has. Some very strange- - you see ~~[illegible]~~ the Congress for Cultural Freedom are sort of pushing in the background, and I know vaguely that they have the idea that maybe, that I might like to take a long term job ~~for long term,~~ with them in Paris. Personally I'm not terribly keen on some of the things the Congress for Cultural Freedom does. Some things are not too bad, besides the pay. But worse still, my wife would just about blow sky high over the Congress for Cultural Freedom, even though she knows Chi Quarterly and Encounter were subsidized by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Encounter is no longer. But there has been a lot of hankypank going on between them . Even the letter- I told you about the letter. They did everything possible to try to keep the editor of Chi Quarterly ~~to keep~~ from printing the letter, telling him all sorts of reasons, that it would blow my cover completely, and then the money that I got from Encounter, Lasky said well, maybe you won't write anything at all. I don't know, why they give me any money at all, send me off to write. .

((I don't know. You're talking mysteries to me))

As I say there are verious people who are hovering around and since I've been back, now here is the truth, he (Castro) hasn't bothered to really, to find out what I have.

((Couple of questions occur to me-- you mention the possibility of going to Paris to work for Congress for Cultural Freddom. . . Would you also be interested if things worked out, in going back to Algeria)

Oh, yes.

(To stay)

Sure. Certainly. All I need is a proper cover, ~~one that is not a~~ that's (not) very hard. The suspicions of these groups are extremely slight. There was a fellow we haven't mentioned. You've probably heard about Dr. Robert Ramsey who was an American who was in Zanzibar. He's now locked up in jail in Algeria. He may be a Negro although I doubt it. I've never met him. I think that he's white, a liberal, member of the NAACP and all sorts of things. I forget what he's a doctor of, not M.D. ~~He wrote~~ He was sending out wild letters in favor of the Zanzibar revolution. Then he claimed he was expelled from Kenya by sinister forces. He didn't have a US passport. He was here without a US passport. For a short time the (British) National Council for Civil Liberties gave him some support and the next thing I knew he was in Algeria. Now what is game is, and whether he is just a crackpot, God knows. Every ~~thing Revolution and~~ revoltionary movement brings ~~fork~~ forth such a bunch of screwballs as one can only see inside

a madhouse, you know.

((He's now in jail?))

Now in jail, in Algeria, no charges against him. I understand the US Embassy is trying to get him out (laughing). I don't know whether Dr. Ramsey was actually an agent of some kind, although he had too many confusions to be really a good agent. Yes, too confused. There was too much wrong. In any case, what I found was that people were generally, if you had something to do and didn't live too lavishly, though Africans don't question too much on money. This business of feathering one's nest goes on all over Africa, apparently in Algeria now more than ever. Andersson said there are large transfers of money in Algerian francs into Switzerland, which are still being bought up by the opposition even still for their own purposes. One day.

Yes, Algeria would be fine-- provided I could find some reasonable - any kind of a newspaper assignment , a vaguely Left thing, better than anything else. but the more innocuous the better.

((You said once before, you fit well in Algeria, you didn't fit well in Black Africa))

I could move throughout Africa, but one has to start ones thing. For instance, for me to go to Ghana would create, at this point, innumerable suspicions, but to go to Algeria where I have people like Georges Arnaux who is a very close personal friend, they would welcome me, and try to find something for me to do . .
That would be easy to arrange. And from there I have South African friends with both PAC and ANC, I have very good contacts. Wherever they have offices I can move inside. But one has to have some reasonable sort of thing. On this trip I used some of the Afro-American journals, the magazine (Encounter) which was quite successful in some places. In fact Grippa said, "why don't I have this magazine. They send it to Berges and don't send it to me." Nevertheless with Grippa there was some suspicion. And I had the opinion-- I'm not paranoic and I don't like playing cops and robbers- or go for cloak and dagger stuff, but I had the opinion that somebody was watching me, was following me when I left there, which was one reason why I didn't see all the people I was going to see.
I knew some Trotskyists there who (could) give me some stories about Grippa's organization - they're on the fringes of it, etc.- but I just didn't go to see them because I thought that Grippa might have someone watching to see where I was going. He wouldn't like the connection with Trotskyites, anyway.

((I'll be away. . closed on Monday. Washington's birthday))

Oh, my God, is it?

((You'll have to buy a cherry pie this week end))

The kids know all about the cherry tree.

((Can you come on Tuesday))

Yes. But my coming in and out of this Embassy is not the best thing in the world. Right over there are the Indonesians, whom I know. Around the corner are the Cubans who know me very well. All it would take is one Cuban to see me walk in here.... I can always concoct a reason but . . I don't know how many people are watching. For one thing, certainly the British Home Office, they've had me under surveillance ever since I've been here . There's no doubt about that. I got a tip on that from Martin Ennals of the National Council of Civil Liberties. . . British may be allies and all, but after all . . .

As far as my wife is concerned, she is by no means a dyed-in-the-wool Communist. She is not a Communist at all, never has been, but she would not like that in the slightest. . . I can't get her to understand. .

Editorial signs

(( ))	query or comment by interviewer
( )	editorial insert
------- or - - -	omission
. . .	incomplete statement
--	dash

((What do you think about that - Malcolm X))

I could have told you it was coming.

((Well, you did. You didn't single out Malcolm X))

Now comes the real thing. It's going to make the Algerian struggle. it becomes You remember the Algerian struggle throughout was marked by clashes between the MNA and the FLN right up to and after the Independence. And this is what is going to happen now in the States, as far as I can see. But what I don't really like is -- there are so many small groups, uncontrollable groups, little kids, fifteen-year-old kids who are planning to shoot the President, and that sort of thing. You don't know how far it goes. So the idea of being a leader- leading what, at this point. leader of what? As to Black Ghettoes, there this thing-- I don't know (who responsible).

((Do you think that was Elijah))

I'm not at all certain. There are many, many, many people who would be glad to see Malcolm out of the way. For one thing, it does resolve a certain problem and that -is, there was a clash, certainly it was going to come about between Williams's group and Boggs' men in Detroit and Malcolm X, people who were more committed to an armed struggle. Malcolm's major contradiction was that he ~~xxxxx~~-- logically, what he was preaching would have led even to negotiations with Washington, to some kind of arrangement, or else to an armed struggle, an underground struggle. As soon as you have a vocal leader who is exposed and who is in the country, on one hand he knew what was happening. He was very much aware of this proliferation of groups and activities, like the little business of Walter Bowe, which ~~was really highly innocuous, in comparison~~
highly symbolic and almost innocuous, in comparison with some of the things His trips abroad, most of his trips abroad were in a way - he wanted to create unity by contacts with Williams and other people, but here, in Europe and Cairo. One of the problems that he had was simply in getting to see Williams. He didn't want to go to Havana. He probably could have brought an extraordinary amount of pressure on the State Department to allow him to go as a journalist or something like that if he really wanted to. But he didn't want to, because he didn't want to be exposed on a political issue which might have cost him support. So where was he going to see Williams? Prague, perhaps, Moscow. But he didn't want to go to Eastern European countries either.

((You said that one of his ~~things~~ aims might have been to negotiate with

Washington))

Exactly. At first the whole idea was that there was going to be a Black State. This was originally. But no one had any real. . . except for Elijah Muhammed's people -- I think that some of them did have. You saw the London Times article todayg? One of the things that disgusted him with the Elijah group was this talks with the American Nazi Party and with the Ku Klux Klan, particularly with the Klan, to buy a county, if you will, a county in Georgia, which the Ku Klux Klan was going to sell. They were going to see that all property in the countxy was turned over and this was going to be the nucleus of a Black State. He felt that the Muslims were seeking to perpetuate segregation for their purposes. He really was not a segregationist nor did he at the end believe in -- he wasn't a racist. This is whole thing, backing away from a religous point, from a racist poin trying to find some modus vivendi for a modified Black nationalism. But he wanted to talks this over. Thisxisxhisx I don't know if he ever had any contacts with anyone beside New York City and State officials and police. He had rather good relations. He was extremely moderate in person and you could talk to him. I think this is what he really wanted or what would have come out of it. He just wanted the contact - to feel that there was somebody opposite him. To a lot of these people, thisx a lot of the stink could be taken out just hm by talking to them, not necessarily with publicity.

((If he wasn't involved on the racial or theological grounds, what was)) [for ... benefit]

Not a racist. For instance, it is said that the Muslims are anti-white and there is an anti-white elementx, and particularly and an anti-Semitic elementx, directed against Jewish shopkeepers. Obviously the Jewish shopkeepers, being exposed, being in the Gheeto, the resentment comes out against them. In New York it comes out against the Jewish element in the garment district. as many Negroes work in the garment district. It is unskilled, underpaid. and sweat shop type of thing. I must say that Malcolm sometimes played this tune himself. He knew it was facile, and also it pleased the Arabs. fxxxxxx from whom he received considerable support.

((You mean the Cairo type Arabs?))

Yesx, the Nassertype. I don't know how much support he ever received financially, but I think they did receive support. And also the Black Muslimsx did receive support at certain times. It was no accident that he set xup a headquarters in exile in Cairo. He did go to Ghana and I know that in Ghana he was attacked by the orthodox Marxists. They are the first to launch an attack, for Black fascism or something. I feel that he was evolving, trying to get out of a box. His reaction was that of a Negro who

grew up in a Ghetto, who becomes a criminal under pressures, he is intelligent he ix extremely intelligent. Not an intellectual but far more capable as an organizer say, than Williams. Williams is utterly hopeless. And He is not slow to catch ideas, but he has certain fixed ideas which have developed, certainly under pressure. Malcolm was moving and he as a figure could have done a lot too.

((Was this a maturing))

Yes, a maturing, a process of facing reality also. I suppose this is an explanation to a large extent of why there are so many children who are young kids, who are really involved in the nationalist movement. They're facile, frustrated. They don't know what else! They feel that the older organizations are incapable of doing anything for them. There is a class thing. They feel that there is sort of a Black bourgeoisie for whom there is now in general a possibility of integration, has sold them out, but they, but they who live in the Ghettoes, who go to the bad schools, who come out of poor homes and so forth, by the time they're sixteen, their hope of, their the real hopes of integration, of being something in contemporary American society, is dead. It's this whole business, the motivation in schools, the good schools, the housing and the family even. If a child grsows up in a home where they don't have books- there is a great difference between a Jewish child in the Lower East Side, no matter how poor that family, motivated by a long Jewish tradition, and a Negro child or a Puerto Rican child, Middle Class ideals are beginning to sink down into the Negro community, but among Puerto Ricans there is an even greater gap, so I understand, ---------

Many of these Negro kids, they just feel this enormous wall around them, and one of the things that I am most aware of, even-- when I was a child, I grew up in Philadelphia. Many of my friends were white. We lived in a neighborhood in West Philadelphia which had Negro and white Irish, Italians, Jewish people, Italian, in proximity. Lived in the same block. That neighborhood now is solidly black. The school I went to was always mixed. Now most of these schools are black. There is more de facto segregati today, yhrough real estate, through housing, than there was 20 years ago.

((Is this intentional or is this because this was an area that was mixed and where a Negro could move in and so Negroes did.))

Yes. One of the problems is that around most American cities the city line marks the end of expansion for Negroes. They can't move into the suburbs. A middle class Negro who has money can move into the suburbs. And what areas they can move into are filled up . The whites flee out of

the city,xX

((Washington would be the primary example of that))

Washington is that much more complicated because you are in the midst of the Southern States. Except that I notice, I have relatives that live around Washington. As a kid I used to go to Washington every summer. And going out towards Chevy Chase and Montgomery county, the Maryland side, there is a certain desegregation that has gone on. Obviously on the Virginia side it is the opposite. Also the Maryland counties to the South. That is a more segregated area. That is also the history-- the sort of slave line. in Maryland before the Civil War sort of went where Washington is now. across the State, to the South were they grow tobacco there was slavery, to the North there was no slavery. And there was a great deal of intermarriage- not intermarriage but racial intermixture. I have relatives who are to all intents and purposes white. When I was a child and went there in the summer, I really had no real awareness of race. It was a curious back~~ground~~ of interracial mixture, that had gone on just before and after the Civil War. Now that has changed considerably., That's in Montgomery county.

I brought the address book.

((It's extremely interesting to consider the racial problem at home but I would like to finish this up.))

Yes. What sort of addresses do you want.

((The people we talked about))

This is Hassan Riad. ~~Amoui~~ Amin is his name, ~~we may have Ameer~~. Boit postale . 3186 - Dakar, Senegal

M. Amiabel. was a Canadian, former Communist. He was setting up, he did set up a pro-Chinese group near Vancouver. Apparently there was considerable activity there. (6323 Marine Drive, Burnaby 3, B.C., Canada)

This is address of the Mulana. To the best of my knowledge Verges never heard from himx yet (Bhashani - % Janata Weekly, 16/20 Haba Roy Lane Dacca 1, E. Pak.)

~~Vokegra~~ BOSGRA Is a very interesting person, in Holland. He is a man who works with Andersson occasionally. He is not a Communist, is a vague Leftist with the ~~Christian Pacifists~~, the Pacifist Socialist Party, in Holland, which has gathered in a strange grouping of Leftists. He has contacts with the Angolans and Algerians. He goes to Algeria quite often. I have a feelin' he is somewhat connected with the ~~Giriot~~ Curiel people. (Vinkenstraat 13" Amsterdam (Angola Comite)

14-00000

Michel CHARTRAIN ... Montreal P.Q., Canada

Chartain xin, you know. He is secretary general of the Partie Socialiste de Quebec and is of course very much connected with the Cubans. And has had a great deal of contact with American Negro groupsx of the Left.

- GLN, Congo, in Brazzaville. It's so open, and so obvious, you know. They used to send things

CUELLAR - (Apartado Aéreo 13777, Zone 1 Bogota - or Ap. Aereo 15332 Bogota)

In Colombia, Alfonso ~~Queila~~- this address is where they receive Not(?) special materials. Things that they think will get by the censorship.
These things came from peking. They came to Revolution.

x The one great advantage of Revolution was if one watched it closely you could find i . . at one time, not any more, but certainly in the arly period, they weren't told by the Chinese to come there but they had seen Revolution on sale. (Orlando LINERO Calle 56, No. 63-30, Barranquilla, Colombia)

17
Colonia Anahuac Mexico D.F.

Federico Emery, was a Mexican sattier, citizen who had been in Peking and was supposed to be representing the Mexican Marxist-Leninist group, the pro-Chinese group. (Tizoc # 19, Col. Anahuac, Mexico 17, D.F.)

Jurema Finamour, this poor Brazilian. who was involved in a most vague way. Verges put this person's name- I don't know whether it is a man or woman- think it's a woman- on the magazine, actually never received ~~xxtxin~~ anything from her. I heard later that she was pro-Moscow, certainly not pro-Chinese. She's probably in jail now, after the coup down there.

~~iMmsxJaxxmmxRxyxmx~~

M. { MacJean ~~Fayou~~ FALLOT. This is the fellow who was Communist leader in the Haute Loire, who is the only one who is still supposed to remain in contact.
Le Chambon sur Lignon, Haute Loire. Everybody knows Mrs. Gunawardene . The Russians claim is parachuted everywhere. (P.O. Box 300, Dept 245, Peking)

Gregorio Goldenberg, in Peking, is Chilean. He works, think he works, inside of the Foreign Languages press. He is correspondent for El Mundo. of Havana. At one time he was correspondent for the Cuban radio. He was a very curious fellow. He wanted to set ~~a~~ up a Spanish edition of Revolution with Chinese money and offered to do this, when he came through Paris, ~~hmix~~ about a year ago. Verges managed to avoid ever giving him any answer on this. He actually offered to bring the money. for this.

Han Su-yin. Very interested in the magazine. She sent material from Cambodia and Verges does have some contacts in Cambodia, someone in the office of Norodom Sihanouk ~~Norda~~. A Frenchman, I think his name is Mayer. He was close to the chief of state.

Elpheus Hunter. W. A. Hunton ~~Hunter~~. Anyone would know him in Accra.

(undoubtedly Charles Meyer, well-known figure in Phnom Penh)

His group at the university of Ghent, which no longer exists, so ~~I am~~ I'm told.

Masao KITAZAWA - 20 Muhammed Said Flat 81, Cairo

~~gawa~~, was the Japanese representative to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference . He used to pass through Paris quite regularly. I don't think he is there any longer. Was much interested in the magazine. He used to use the ~~psaydx~~ pseudonym of Walter Johnson sometimes.

Ab ~~Corina~~ Karina? was one of the leaders of the ~~Swapo~~ SWAPU of Southwest Africa.

used to send in articles. I knew him personally from New York.

has been going back and forth between Peking and also East Germany and West Germany. He's playing all sides. on this Southwest Africa thing.

Cozengizi is the head of ~~Swanu~~ SWANU, the other Southwest Africa group. (SWANU & SWAPU) ~~There~~ They have a unity. . once there was a struggle between ~~Corina~~ Karina and ~~Cochambina~~ Kozengizi. Karina was virtually eliminated. ~~Corina~~ Karina is an American agent, and so forth. The Last story that I heard about ~~Corina~~ Karina was that he was working for the Peace Corps in Bechuanaland. These are the stories that they circulated. ~~Corina~~ Karina has been unable to hold up his end of it. He is kind of sulking. And violence hasn't helpt him at all. ~~Cochambina~~ Kozengizi has embarrassed people i over and over- - monomania ~~for his~~ but its worked.

Abdul Rahim KARIM (190a Finchley Rd., Lond NW3) special representative now, in London, for Verges. He is in Singapore. His article on Malaysia, against Malaysia, was greatly appareicated by the Indonesian government and a large number of copies of the issue of Revolution which contained it were bought up and i twas later reproduced. We received from Indonesian Embassies all around sub-~~scriptions~~. orders for that issue. Subscriptions came from the UN, their missions to the UN, perhaps here in London.

Julian Mayfield, Academy of Science, P.O. Box 2848 Accra, in Ghana doesn't use this address as often as he used to. because he is now editor of something called the African Review. It is a new magazine..

F.M. MOLL - Amstelkade 157, Amsterdam Phone 717032.

Now here's an interesting fellow- ~~Mema~~, I aver quite figured him out. He is a ~~Pnnh Pnom~~ Surinam nationalist. in Amsterdam. He is close to almost all the Left parties. there. He pret4nds to be Marxist but claims that he is not involved in the Sino-Soviet ~~schism~~ dispute. He doesn't want anything to do with that. That is the reason he never wrote anything for the magazine. though I did see him. x

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Carlos Moore. I have no address for him. He is an Afro-Cuban boy whom I first met in New York. He is in Paris and you might be able to reach him through Presence Africaine. He supposedly was writing a book about Cuba He was very much involved with Robert Williams, with Malcolm X, he is extremely young but very active in body --- . He is of Jamaican origin. There is a Jamaican minority in eastern Cuba, in Camaguey and Oriente Province. That's how you get names like Moore, etc. His father and brother live in New York, his mother is still in Cuba. He went back to Cuba after the Bay of Pigs, and went to school there. He became very disillusioned. He left, claiming that there was racial discrimination and so forth in Cuba. Very, very anti —. He went to Cairo. He managed to get out, and he went on a Yugoslav ship, I think or a Greek ship, and got to Egypt. He had met some Angolans through the UPA who had been in Havana and they took care of him for a while until there was a split inside of the UPA, and the fellow who was there quit and went to Switzerland. He brought Moore out to Switzerland. Then Carlos wound up in Paris, where he still is, to best of my knowledge. He supposedly has written an article for Presence Africaine which is violently counter-revolutionary. He claims there is no revolution. His position, is relatively bizarre. . It's not terribly justified. But what I think is, that here is a case of Black Nationalism in the States being transported to Cuba. What he claims is that the only Cuban revolution that remains to be made that would be valid would be a black revolution. and that really the population of Cuba is overwhelmingly black, or of African descent, and that this has been a plot that has gone on for generations even now with Fidel Castro, particularly Dorticos, he claims, the white leadership has been able to perpetuate itself regardless of the political thing. This is his theme. He is interesting but extremely wild and emotional. I think it's a case where the intoxication of Harlem never went off. Anyway he might be worth talking to.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom people were going to try to get in touch with him but they weren't any too convinced that his thesis was correct. I don't think so. He claims of course that I am completely blinded by my pro-Castro sympathies. He claimed that Williams was very unhappy for racial reasons in Cuba. I thought that Williams was simply unhappy. He couldn't speak Spanish. He was under pressure from the American Communists and Soveit Communists that didn't like him, the old Cuban Communists, which was one of the reasons for his whole-hearted turn towards Peking. That was the only way out. And he wanted to come back to the States.

The FBI was in no mood- we could probably have arranged something that is that he was a fugitive, if the Federal thing weren't going to be held against him, that Rockefeller wouldn't extradite him most likely to New York. There were talks on this. A lawyer by the name of Conrad Lynn had discussed this, a Negro lawyer who was connected with a party called the Freedom Now Party, another Black Nationalist group, but with basically a Trotskyite front. It was put up 99% by the SWP which was one of the reasons for its failure. This lawyer was well aware of Williams's desire to come back to the United States if he could stay out of the hands of a North Carolina lynch mob. The one talk I had with the FBI people convinced me that they were in no mood whatsoever, even though they realized what the situation was.

(Pan African Press - P.O. 8364 - Pinto, Private Bag 8159, ...)

Pinto is a very curious fellow. Pinto is a man who is close to Kenyatta. In Kenya. who has or is involved with the Pan-African Press, who is not hooked up with Odinga, not openly in any case, but who is sort of playing all sides, looking for hand-outs. I understand that he received substantial sums from Russia, so that he has shown more Muscovite color than any other.

William J. Pomeroy 48 Balcombe, Lond NW7 is the American who was captured with the Huks in the Philippines, you remember? He lives here in London, more or less retired from politics except that he writes. That's how he earns his living. But he depends more or less on the good graces of the British Labor Party the Left of that party and the British Communist Party to stay here. What he has to say about the failure of the guerrilla campaign in the Philippines and the present Leftward turn in the Philippines apparently--- There is an outfit called the Philippine Progressive Review which I think we (Revolution) gave publicity to- here it is- - the Progressive Review. It is connected with Pomeroy. They are about as Communist as they can get under the present law of the Philippines.They have hopes of what they call an Anti-Imperialist ground swell, in other words, an anti-American trend in the present government. They felt that the anti-Malaysia campaign might help, and the editor has been very much in contact with the Indonesians. He has been to Djakarta on several occasions recently. He is in contact with Pomeroy. Pomeroy's position is one inwhich he has to be very careful of what he says because the British Communists will dump him. His wife is Philippine.She can't get an American visa, so they have to live here. This makes him the captive of a certain part of the British Labor Left and the British CP. His book, The Forest, was published here and in the States by Communist publishing houses.It is an account of the guerrilla campaign in the Philippines, at least his personal account, but he pointed out to me, that it is also an account of its failures. He has tried to keep out of the Sino-Soviet thing but I have

a feeling that if the situation in the Philippines changed both he and his wife would like to go back there. This is what he may be goind (working for) through his contacts with the Progressive Review. I don't known how far they have contacts with the people inside the Philippinesx government but they claim to have.))

Shashikant R. Pastel — 8 Modhav Kunj, Dixit Rd, Bombay 57. was an Indian from Bombay who wrote several among other things, articles. He is a business man and I imagine a rather successful business man. He is in on the fringe of the Indian Communist Party and now involved with the pro-Chinese wing of the party.

~~Madagx Kunsi~~ Modhav Kunj? - Dixit Rd Bombay 57

Strelkoff address - 151 Ave. Sufrin, Paris 15, Phone 54F 54 56

Miss C.J. SNETHLAGE ~~Nex lage~~ from Amsterdam is the head of the Cuba group. the com Cuba committee in Holland, She is very prominent in this Pacifist Socialist Party. She ~~is very~~ has been to Cuba, ~~but~~ despite her advanced age she is seventy-some, and very active. She

Torild SKARD, c/o GOMNAES, C 14 Studentbyen, Oslo, Norway ~~Sklaar~~ is a student leader in Norway. I think she is now a member of Parliament. She did a lot of publicity for the magazine.

Dr. Leiva Samper- MOEC representative in Paris He is a doctor, a cardiologist and seems to be quit a distinguished one. He is a heart surgeon. (129 Rue de Tolbiac, Paris 13e Phone POR 47-39 (hospital)

Schwartzenberg is my lawyer in Paris.
SINE - 35 Rue de Cheliy - ph. TRI 73-32.

Manuela Sikes is a member of the Liberal Party (U.K.). She's a standing candidate for Ipswich, very pro-Cuban and pro-Algerian. She's got a lot of influence inside the party because of who she sleeps with. I don't know who it is, but I've heard an awful lot of stories.

Jose Venturelli, ~~Torrelli~~ / Calle E, #158 1-B, Vedado Havana Havana, is a Venezuelan artist and member of — — — supposedly very very interested in the magazine. He is a friend of ~~Mxxxxx~~ Martha Dodd, you may find on the cards the magazin was going to him c/o Martha Dodd at the Havana Libre hotel.

Martha Dodd had no direct contact with the magazine. She ~~xxxx~~ reportedly had taken quite a pro-Chinese position but to be so hopelessly compromised with the Czechs and Russians that she can't say too much except en cachet, to everybody she meets, especially young people. Whether this is her real attitude or not, I don't know. She might also be doing this to gain the confidence of people. There is no question that Venturelli is her very close friend.

Costas Veropolous (?) is a student group leader from Greece, who edited a Magazine in Greece called Africa Asia Latin America. It was a cut-down version of Revolution and represented for the Greek youth, the left wing of the ~~EC~~ EDA

who were unsatisfied with the reformist tactics the Social democratic tactics of the EDA and EDAHx youth. He got in contact with the magazine he wanted material to reproduce in Greek. I suppose he did. I took one year of Greek and I know nothing of modern Greek, I could just about make out the title.

Pierre Valliery(?) is a Canadian Communist who was setting up a thing called Revolution Quebequoise. He was dissatisfied with Chartain. He had been ~~xxxx~~ close to Chartain and he was going to be holier than Chartain. He worked for La Presse, which was on strike

Sydney WANASINGHE was a Celonese Trotskyist in member of the ~~xxxxx~~ committee of the ~~Lakisama Hamaya~~ Lanka Sama Maja party before it split. the militant part of it split. He distributed I think 25 to 50 -- more likely 25 copies of Revolution, each issue. I understand that his group of the Trotskyists were more pro-Chinese than the pro-Chinese wing of the Celonese Communist party. He tried to get us to take their magazine in exchange.

That covers all of the real addresses that I have.

((At this point let's take stock of you. Is your kid back in school?))

Yes.

((You're not under pressure))

No. Thank the Lord, I've got that off the hook for a little while.

22 ((You have largely answered the question- What is the function of the Advisory Board of Revolution))

Nothing more unless it was to give prestigex to the enterprise. This is why it keeps growing larger and larger. First it started out as an editorial board, then he changed the title, to advisory board. then he calls it permanent collaborators. I don't know why. He claimed that under French law you had only exemption from seizure if you were really French - - now I do know what it was- - one issue of the magazine was seized in France. That was No. 7 which had Ho Chi Minh on the cover. It wasn't seized for Ho Chi Minh but because of an article on Reunion and the French West Indies. It was a platonic seizure, more in the way of a warning. The seizure order came down after the matazine had been distributed. There were virtually no copies picked up-. Undistributed and returned copies were seized but the money wasn't seized. That's about the nicest way you can seize a magazine. It was a warning. And he felt that an editorial board made ~~of~~ up of foreigners didn't give him enough protection in France. That was the reason for changingx to permanent collaborators.

They certainly are quite active. For instance, the Colombian I mentioned- I still can't think of his name-- but his daughter was put in an Albanian school. Poor girl, about eleven years old, and she didn't know a word of Albanian and most of the Albanians didn't know Spanish. She has managed to suffer through a year of it. It is very interesting to talk to this little girl, now about 12, She was in Cuba, where you might think of the revolution as extremely informal lax in many ways easy-going. It's a libertarian type of revolution. Certainly it hasn't had the puritannical type of after-period that one finds in most revolutions, certainly ~~in and these the puritans~~ in China which proves a great obstacle for the Africans who go there. They are virtually unable to keep African students because of the fact that there is no sex. They used to let them go to HongKong and they would all come back with syphilis and gonorrhea to the great disgust of the Chinese. This girl, who seemed to like Cuba, in Albania was shocked by the degree of formality of relationships and for instance she said that at the beaches -- in Cuba all the beaches were open, anybody can go to the beach. In Albania they have, as I suppose you find in many Communist countries, high officials, middle officials, low officials and then just plain working people. (and ~~[illegible]~~). This to her was (shocking). She wasn't aware of politics as such and that is what made talking to her so interesting.

((What do you think of Cuba nowadays?))

I know one thing, that the PSP has virtually been defeated in every way, the old Communists. I was very much involved, obviously, the Cubans who were my friends ~~were~~ are not Communists. I suppose that one of the things that made the Cuban revolution attractive was that it wasn't doctrinaire. For Americans, college students, the young people, after all of the years of disenchantment about revolution as such, the Cuban revolution looked like a romantic thing. It was extravagant. All these bearded fellows coming out of the mountains, and anyone who went to Cuba coulnd't help but feel the contagion.

((I think there was a sympathetic feeling within the States because it was not alien to our own revolutionary background, the idea of little men hiding behind trees shooting at the Redcoats.))

Right. Only they were shooting at Batista's troops who were armed by the United States. This is one of the things that many Americans are unable to realize, how deeply involved the US is with these military regimes. It has obviously been exploited from ~~their~~ an academic point of view, but from the popular imagination, we just don't think of it.

The Fidelista youth were not Marxist. They are more so today than they were before, but they have had this experience of dealing with the United States - - I have had a lot of argujments with them about it. - - - - - For instance when they came to the United States ini- - 28 March of 59, you remember, Felipe Pasos (?) came, Fidel went to Washington and he went to New York and it was extraordinarily badly handled. Christian Herter wouldn't see him at the State Department. He insisted on taking a hotel suite, rather than do that. Certainly it wasn't an official visit but a lot of people have gone to Washington xxx. . . Then it was a question of whether the Cubans wanted money or not. The Cubans claimed, . . . that they asked for $3,000,000 on short term credit, just a stop-gap and that this was turned down cold. until they made some guarantees about American property. From that point on I think that their attitude towards the United States was one of expecting, looking for the worst. They were able to work out a few arrangements with xxfxx American companies concerning take-overs. EAch time, they were vetoed by the State Department or someone else, who said don't go into this, because we want to have a solid front, no one should make an agreement with them otherwise.

It was provocation and counterprovocation. They would do something then there would be American xxxixx reaction, then a Cuban counterreaction until it was real escalation, diplomatically, to the point at which it fell completely into the hands of the Russians. That could have been short-circuited and prevented. They really are not happy where they are now. They want some independence, ~~of over~~ vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Ideologically they are not very happy with the Russians. They have managed though to maintain incredible independence, not signing the nuclear test ban agreement, they have never made any anti-Chinese statements at all, though Fidel came very close-- he did in one of the statments where Kruschev mentioned peaceful coexistence, and said that there had never been disagreement with the Russians over the missiles .xxxxxxxx In actual fact they were boiling. They were furious about the missile business. This left a bad taste in their mouths. The Escalante business, you know the ~~president~~ first attempt of the old x PSP ~~was going~~ to take over and create a faction which would displace the romantic revolutionaries, if you will. It failed but that didn't mean that Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and more capable technocrats inside the party didn't continue. They failed. Now Carlos Rafael who had the highest place of the old Communists is out as you know. And almost all of them went out at this point.

I am always struck by - Grippa said, for instance, of Guillermo Cabrera Infante, the Cuban Cultural Attache in Brussels, whom I know very well, that: "he's an anti-Communist". Which is true. He is a nationalist. That's all. And that's the one thing that keeps him there. But he and many of the people like CArlos Franqui and around Carlos Franqui and Haidee Santamaria. her husband, who is the Minister of Education, they are liberal, in their views about the arts, they are non-dogmatic, non-doctrinaire, Leftist if you will, but Leftist by situation and circumstance. They represent, if there is anyone in Washington who still has a sober mind about Cuba and who is not completely filled with venom ~~or~~ - and frustration - about Cuba, they would, I think, represent the real hope of reaching a modus vivendi in the future. They are the real heirs, I think, the people who will take over. I do not think the PSP can do it. They have the mass support in the country behind them. It is always said, that if anything ever happens to Fidel and there is the slightest suspicion that it was done by a Communist, there wouldn't be a Communist left alive in the Island in about five hours. These were many people who felt that the Communists would have liked to do this. At one time it became almost a hysterical rumor spread around that the Communists wanted to kill Fidel.

The bitterness that I found against the old Communists was because they were compromised with Batista. Even now, this explains their pro-Chinese stand. But that can't go very far, either. Because they are not doctrinaire. The Chinese have been extremely flexible in dealing with Cuba - they can't offer them very much - and they can't push them, so they have been easy-going. - - - The handling of the October crisis between the Russians and the United States when they got together over the heads of the Cubans, was an insult. Being a small country and semi-colonial, it was a colony, it has an exaggerated sense of its national rights. This was, in terms of Cuba, not the world situation in general, ~~for the~~ perhaps it was the only way to solve the October question, it seemed to be the only way, but in the terms of Cuba that was one of the grave mistakes of the Russians. The way the handled it. They didn't seem to soften the blow for the Cubans.

((They're very sensistive people.))

Right. And they've never forgotten it. They have nourished lots of hopes about DeGaulle and the possibility of trade with France. Trade is increasing, they've tried desperately to get DEGaulle to visit Cuba which he wouldn't do. He would do lots of things against Washington, but there are certain limits (laughing), and that's one of them.

I know that's one of the things in back of their minds, in Paris. Every French delegation to Havana, even one just recently, I heard about, Fidel went around saying- why doesn't De Gaulle come and visit us.

There is a Gaullist group, France -Cuba (?)   , not the Communist, but there is a Communist organization. There is also one inside of the government party concerned with Cuba and they have made recommendations for increasing trade. One of the things also encouraged is the increase of Spanish trade. Ironically one of the heroes of Cuba is Franco, because he continued trade and they say "You know, when we go to Madrid, there is never any trouble from the counter-revolutionaries. They behave themselves." I have a feeling that the Spanish attitude has some influence on the French. I would imagine that they hope that eventually this will be communicated to the West Germans.

Cuba certainly, I feel, if they did have ~~axxhaixax~~ diversification of trade and an opening horizon -- because so many problems with the United States become emotional problems that no matter what the head of the government or the State wants to do, you've got the problem of how to put it before the Congress and public opinnon, which has been so sensitized to it that this is the problem of American statesmanship that you don't have in any other places. De Gaulle, for example, says "the people? [illegible]" but even he wouldn't go beyond a certain point.

~~Another thing~~, Algeria. Probably only DeGaulle cold have reached a settlement.

((In two minutes, that's your prognosis for future ~~XXxDxh~~ US-Cuban relations.))

It depends very much on the United States. I think, I know, there are elements in Cuba who are more than willing. But they don't want to be pushed. The trouble is that when a Cuban talks to America, the next question is "when are you going to get rid of the Red regime," or something like that — That is the end of ~~xix~~ the dialogue. I would ~~imxgxixtxthxx~~ imagine that it would have to be through talks. I understand - this is one thing that this Carlos Moore, the Afro-Cuban boy who is extremely anti-revolutionary- ~~Cuban-~~ he says he wants a real revolution. He worked in the Foreign Ministry at one time. What he ~~He~~ used to claim was that Dorticos and ~~pxpx~~ people around Dorticos are very very anxious for a rapprochement with the United States. That they would love to have contact. I certainly know that Dr. Roa, Foreign Minister, wanted somehow to have contacts, more direct contacts. He ~~hxx~~ had a problem too, that in public he couldn't say anything, and whenever he was in New York he was boxed in.

((I don't want to start a debate but you say that the -- when are you going to get rid of the Red regime-- this is ~~thx~~ a reflection of the

Similarly, isn't sensitivity that you spoke about. ~~Isn't it really~~ the Cuban population sensitized in such fashion as to come up with a comparably provocative and ~~and~~ dialogue-ending remark.))

It seems a little bit less. One of the problems is that of the Cuban immigration. There isn't in Cuba, to the best of my knowledge, a broad anti-Americanism. Always ~~in~~ even in Fidel's speeches, he makes a distinction between the American government and the American people. ~~Then~~ There is a very open ~~nuance~~ equivocation about the Cuban counter-revolutionaries. They may be counter-revolutionaries but they also happen to be uncles, cousins, nephews, and almost everybody has some one among them, from Fidel on down.

((The exiles in Miami and elsewhere))

That's right. They are relatives. Just as the treatment for instance of the people at the Bay of Pigs- which was extraordinary. In many countries they would have been -- in ~~our~~ the Web country, they would have taken them all out and shot them. There they weren't allowed to beat them; they said they "had been misled" and so forth. This ~~was for propaganda~~ ~~{not entirely}~~ wasn't merely ~~really~~ for propaganda, this was a feeling. I have seen it happen over and over again They might shoot someone. They did, they shot three people, a Batista sergeant and some others. It was an incredible gaffe ~~that was~~ to include among these people an old Batista torturer. He was shot and no one much protested. I have been told by people who have been there recently that you have only to say that you are an American to get a sympathetic audience around you immediately. People want to discuss with you, why did they do this, that. You see they can hear Miami. They listen -to the American radio all the time, and they listen to Radio SWAN. I heard Radio SWAN in Cuba. Radio SWAN ~~Radio~~ was a CIA radio operated off of Swan Island off of Nicaragua. [actually off Honduras] and island which is claimed by Nicaragua [Hondurans] but in actual fact is possessed by the United States (laughing). The Nicaraguans have never been able to persuade us to leave. We just have some sailors on it. They built this enormous radio which broadcast to Cuba. It wasn't an official radio. It was called Radio SWAN. It was a CIA operation. It was so crude, it was really pathetic, the type of thing-- people are starving, that type of thing. Now this was directed at Cuba and when you have propaganda like that - ~~xxx~~ it is very little that can be confirmed. You say people are starving, and they are able to go out and buy <u>something</u>. There was a lot of racist material in there about Congolese troops stationed in Central Cuba. There were no Congolese troops. This short of attitude came out later. During the time of the Bay of Pigs operation ~~they~~

the press releases were incredible. This isn't ...

going to be Machiavellian, my God you don't do it like that, you know. The best propaganda is the one that comes closest to the truth, that just slightly goes off, you don't have to push the point.

In any case, I do feel that there are an enormous number of people in Cuba and inside of the government, particularly among the old 26th of July ~~xxxxxxxx~~ people, who would be - - they don't want to make a capitulation to the United States. They want an independent government. They would like trade. They would like to get out of the dependence on the Soviet Union such as it is. They have managed to keep from being swallowed up by the Russians just by enormous effort on their part.

((Do you think that both sides have committed themselves so far that it is impossible to have any kind of rapprochement or normalization of relations without a feeling that one sidd or the other or both, had been forced to capitulate?))

I think at one point this was true, but ~~I should have made one point~~. ~~x~~ I don't think it's true any more. To a certain extent in recent months there has been ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ a sort of cooling down in Cuban-American relations, though there have been continued charges about Venezuela, and it is certainly true ~~xxxx~~ that the Cubans were encouraging the Venezuelan FALN. They certainly gave financial support not so much in the way of arms, I think, but money, and in a guerrilla campaign you get your arms anyway from the police and the army, from the army that's around you. That's the easiest way.

I have the feeling, nevertheless, that the Cubans are somewhat disappointed, disillusioned, about their ability to agitate these revolutionary groups elsewhere in Latin America, their ability to carry out any effective revolution, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ just as the Alliance ~~of~~ for Progress has proved to be a great disappointment to many people in Washington so has the Cuban open solidarity with other, almost any, revolutionary movement in Latin America, proved a disappointment.

On the other hand, the Cubans are not going to issue a statement saying that we will not export revolution. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Certainly in the first years of the (Cuban) revolution, they ~~had become~~ did some extremely insane things, with expedition to Haiti, expedition to Santo Domingo, expedition to Panama, remember, and they had to send people in to Panama to get them to surrender. [handwritten insertion, partly illegible: "...totally ineffective."] The people in Santo Domingo were just slaughtered. In Haiti they were slaugtered also.

((Probably got them by Black magic in Haiti))

A messy situation. On the other hand, every once in a while Duvalier makes overtures. He's not beyond anything.

Well, if you want to get in touch with me again, you have only to give me a call. I don't imagine that anything much will happen. If I'm not there just say that Earl called, or something like that. But do avoid giving this address or telephone number. I imagine with my wife working now for the ~~Indonesians~~ Tunisians

((It would be someone else answering))

It would be ~~thexmaxidx~~ me. I dont think I'm quite going to set up shop down ~~at~~ with Leo Labedz ~~right away~~ & Company.

((Again, I do appreciate your cooperation))

No. Thank you.

14-00000

MESSAGE FORM 32 RI

ORIG : A. GOODRICH
UNIT : CI/IC/G
EXT : R-1176
DATE : 8 MARCH 1965

☐ INDEX
☐ NO INDEX
☐ FILE IN CS FILE NO. Gibson's 201

S E C R E T

ROUTING

1		5	
2		6	
3		7	
4		8	

TO : LONDON

FROM: DIRECTOR

☐ DESTROY
☐ RETURN TO BRANCH
☐ FILE RID

CONF: CI/IC 2 INFO WE 6, ADDP, FE 6, CA 2, CA/O 4, AF 4, CI, CI/OPS, FI, FI/INT 2, VR, FILE

8 Mar 65 21 07z

TO LOND INFO PARI PALP CITE DIR SIG CEN

KUDESK LCHARVEST QKOPERA

REFS: A. LOND 6396 *

B. OELA 42604

C. LOND 6360 *

90655

1. APPRECIATE ADDRESS LIST RECEIVED HQS 4 MARCH.

2. DO NOT WISH YOU ACKNOWLEDGE HAVING IT TO SMOOTHERS FOR TIME BEING.

3. REF C PARA 1: APPROVE YOUR PASSAGE SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT YOUR DEBRIEFING OF GIBSON INCLUDING DETAILS ON REVOLUTION ORGANIZATION AND HOW IT WORKS. HOWEVER, DO NOT PASS INTELLIGENCE OF POTENTIAL OPERATIONAL VALUE.

END OF MESSAGE

AN SPS	RI	AF 1/A
PS		
ABSTRACT	✓	INDEX

* 16552

* 14617

201-306052

CO/OPS ✓
AF/CI ✓
CA/3 W. Raymond (by phone)

John G. Roberts
C/DCWE (BC)
RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

S E C R E T

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

John G. Roberts
WE/BC/II
AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN [redacted] COPY [redacted]

RI COPY [redacted]

FORM 1389 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS

14-00000

INDEX ☐ YES ☒ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO 201-30605
X-REF TO FILE NO
FILE RID ☒ RET TO BRANCH ☒
DESTROY ☐ SIG

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

TOTAL COPIES 34

2 SECRET

RI ☒ COPY ☐ DUMMY
REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

FROM
LONDON

ACTION
FE 8

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBED

INFO
VR. FILE WE 6 ADDP CI CI/OPS CI/IC 2 FI FI/INT 2 AF 4 CA 2 CA/O 4

SECRET 031139Z

DIR INFO PARI PALP CITE LOND 6360

KUDESK LCHARVEST

REF DIR 85977*

3 Mar 65 IN 14617

1. GIBSON DEBRIEFING COMPLETED 23 FEB. STA DOING ROUGH TRANSCRIPT TAPES AND PREPARING OPS DISPATCH, TO BE POUCHED NEXT FEW DAYS.

2. WHILE REF QUESTIONS NOT PUT TO G, HE DID MAKE COMMENTS ON SMITH AND GRAHAM, WHICH IN TRANSCRIPT. NO MENTION OF SHLEIFER. QUESTIONS CAN BE INCLUDED IN SUBSEQUENT MEET WITH GIBSON, HOWEVER. ASSUME ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS WILL DERIVE FROM MATERIAL NOW IN HAND.

SECRET

CFN *QUESTIONS FOR DEBRIEFING

201-306052
3 MAR '65

FORM 1-64 1389 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS RI COPY RI COPY (35)

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING

PROPOSED	ACTION	ACCOM-PLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: Chief, WH

INFO: Chief of Station, LCPIPIT; Chief, KUWOLF; Chief, KUDESK; Chief, FE

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: LCHARVEST/KUDESK/MHSPAWN
Revolution Mailing List

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

1. Transmitted herewith is one copy of the cards that constitute the mailing list for Revolution. These were borrowed from Richard GIBSON and copied in the station. GIBSON's wife, who compiled the cards and was responsible for distribution of Revolution (and to whom, therefore, they more properly belong) is not aware that GIBSON has "loaned" the cards out. They were returned to GIBSON's flat the same day he brought them in for copying.

2. We have not made any attempt to count them. There are several thousand. A few comments will be in order about some of the marks and notations that appear on the cards.

3. One general category is "Promotional". The first bunch of sheets - about twenty, it appears - are in this category. They are marked "Promotional" or "PR". These were sent out gratis either to induce publicity, or to encourage new subscribers, or to make friends happy. (Presumably, Robert WILLIAMS and several others are in this category).

4. Thereafter, the cards run in categories of one sort or another, with given countries generally lumped together. Those where the address was obviously stapled onto a card are some of those that were taken from Frene GINWALA's Spearhead mailing list. Some are marked "ex-Spearhead"; which means that the name came from the Spearhead list, and the person subsequently subscribed on his own, after a little promotional treatment.

5. The coded symbols, unfortunately, GIBSON could not explain, since this was his wife's territory, rather than his own. The first set of letters obviously refers to the country (e.g.,UK/). Other numbers and letters are not clear. The name that appears apart from the name of the subscriber usually indicates who arranged the subscription (this may be an agent, or something like a gift subscription). For instance, S. V. LEE is Sheldon LEE, who handles

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

ABSTRACT
AF 1
RS COPY

1 att.

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DATE TYPED: 25 Feb. 65

DATE DISPATCHED: 2 MAR

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-42,604
201-306052

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH | CLASSIFICATION: SECRET | DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO: OELA-42,604

some subscriptions. Expiration dates are obvious. "Private" merely means that someone ordered a subscription directly, himself, rather than through an agency.

6. Any further questions relating to the list can be included in any subsequent contacts with GIBSON, if they merit inclusion, and if it seems likely that he will know the answers.

7. We note that the list's accuracy cannot be guaranteed, especially after the time when the GIBSON's parted ways with Jacques VERGES.

8. At some time, the SMOOTHERs may ask us for this list. We would appreciate being advised as to whether Headquarters would like us to acknowledge having it.

George E. KATZENBACH

Attachment:
Herewith

Distribution:
3-Chief, WE w/att h/w
2-COS, LCPIPIT w/o att
2-Chief, KUWOLF w/o att
2-Chief, KUDESK w/o att
2-Chief, FE w/o att

USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORMS 51-28, 51-28A AND 51-29 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE. | CLASSIFICATION: SECRET | CONTINUED

14-00000

MESSAGE FORM 31 RI

ROUTING

1	5
2	6
3	7
4	8

ORIG : A. Goodrich
UNIT : CI/ICG
EXT : 5928
DATE : 18 Feb 65

☐ INDEX
☐ NO INDEX
☒ FILE IN CS FILE NO. 201 - 306052

SECRET

☐ DESTROY
☐ RETURN TO BRANCH
☐ FILE RID

TO : LONDON

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: CI/IC 2 INFO WE 6, FE 6, FI, ADDP, DDP, WH/SA 8, FI/INT 2, CI, CI/OPS, SR, FILE

TO LOND INFO: CITE DIR

86097

KUDESK LCHARVEST

RE: A. LOND 6129 (IN 81502)*

B. OELW - 21869

1. IN ADDITION QUESTION THIRTY-SIX REF B, WE PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN DESCRIPTION GIBSON'S CURRENT CUBAN CONTACTS AS BASIS FOR FOLLOW UP REQUIREMENTS. SPECIFICALLY HAS G BEEN IN TOUCH RECENTLY WITH ANY CUBAN OFFICIALS WHO SUPPLIED INFO ON CUBAN INTERNAL SITUATION, STRUGGLE BETWEEN CASTRO AND OLD COMMUNISTS, STABILITY OF CUBAN REGIME, OR CUBAN SOVIET RELATIONS?

2. BELIEVE PROBING INTO HISTORY G RELATIONS WITH CUBA AND FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE SHOULD BE AVOIDED AT OUTSET SINCE THIS APPEARS TO BE AREA WHERE HE MOST SENSITIVE ABOUT GIVING POTENTIALLY SELF INCRIMINATING INFO AND FURTHERMORE OF MARGINAL VALUE.

END OF MESSAGE.

201-306052

*Lond query re rqmts on Gibson's Cuban contacts if any.

WH/SA/EOB
WH/SA/CI

John Caswell
DCWE(BC)
RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

C/WE/BC/U
AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

GROUP 1 Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

FORM 1-64 1389a OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

SECRET

Copy No.

14-00000

1176

INDEX: ☐ YES ☒ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO 201-306052
X-REF TO FILE NO
FILE RID ☒ RET. TO BRANCH ☐
DESTROY ☐ SIG

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

TOTAL COPIES 9

SECRET

18 FEB 1965

RI ☑ COPY ☐ DUMMY

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM: LONDON

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

ACTION: WE 8

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBED

TIME | BY

INFO: VR, FILE, FE 6, FI, ADDP, DDP, WH/SA 8, FI/INT 2

SECRET 161247Z

16 FEB 65 IN 81502

DIR CITE LOND 6129

KUDESK LCHARVEST

REF DIR 84695

OELW 21369

NOTE NO RQMTS ON GIBSON'S CUBAN CONTACTS INCLUDED REFS. IS THIS OVERSIGHT, OR IS THERE REASON FOR NOT FOLLOWING THIS LINE? PLS ADVISE, INCLUDING RQMTS IF ANY.

SECRET

AN SR
DC
ABSTRACT
AF 1/A

201-306052

SECRET

FORM 1-64 1389 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS [redacted] RI COPY [redacted] RI COPY [redacted] (35)

(laughing) That's right. I think that going into that would take a long time and I'm not that - it's also very hard to say, ~~taking contacts~~ and ~~making~~ ~~your~~ contacts with ~~the Africans, with~~ the Chinese, you ~~say~~, look, we need a car, for political work. ~~The~~ Chinese ~~say~~ turn up a car, take ~~your~~ car. If the US embassy turned up a car, they would say take a car from the US Embassy. It doesn't make them any more American agents, It makes them Chinese agents. It's just a matter of who can produce. Africa is full of poor people. Just as the Negro community in the United States is full of poor people. Poor people don't have any sense of loyalty in the ordinary sense of the word. They have a sense of loyalty to their poverty, and colonial experience also mixed in nation-hood. The national sense is extremely weak. They see things in terms of Western ~~Nigeria~~, former colonial ~~power~~, that's all.

(Holden Roberto is down here. You ~~already~~ talked about him. I know about him)

You ought to know him better than I do. (laughing) I met him only once and that was in New York. I had a long discussion with him about 1 to 3 in the morning, and he was terribly afraid that somebody would think he was a Communist. I tried to assure him I didn't think he was a Communist no matter what (laughing).

(Did he have anything to do with the magazine)

None, ~~No~~, because ~~the magazine~~, while Verges was there in Algiers, and up until Viriato da Cruz changed his position, the magazine ~~would follow~~ was following the MPLA and only changed about when Viriato changed from the MPLA to the UPA.

Holden went to China and I suppose he gave the Chinese some guarantees but I don't know.

(Mario d'Andrade)

He is the active Secretary - I don't know his official title- of the MPLA and represents another tendency different from Dr. Neto is the President. He had contacts with Revolution and with Viriato da Cruz. He sought to get Viriato to come back to the MPLA. He is a poet also. They are all poets. They are all former students in Portugal. The last time he came through Paris ~~he saw~~ . After Viriato published his article, in Revolution, he asked for the right of reply which was granted by Verges but he never wrote the article. He could be said to be much more pro-Soviet than pro- ~~(Chinese)~~ if anything. I think that Neto

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: S-E-C-R-E-T

PROCESSING ACTION: MARKED FOR INDEXING / NO INDEXING REQUIRED / ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING / MICROFILM

TO: Chief of Station, London
Attention: KATZENBACH

INFO: Chief of Station, Paris
Chief, LCPIPIT

FROM: Chief, WE

SUBJECT: DEBRIEFING OF RICHARD T. GIBSON

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

RE: OELA - 42,410, 26 January 1965

1. On 11 February KUBARK Staff Agent Errol S. KULPA, who had contact with GIBSON in 1363-64, listened to reference tape and made the following comments, which may be helpful to Katzenbach. KULPA felt that the GIBSON that he was hearing on the tape had indeed changed rather radically since the last time KULPA had any contact with him or the Revolution. KULPA remembers GIBSON as anti-white and probably (because of this racial orientation) anti-U.S. KULPA is therefore quite suspicious of GIBSON's motivations and advises that extreme precaution be taken in the handling of GIBSON.

2. KULPA's view of Gibson's motivations:

KULPA has strenuous doubts as to any idealogical motivation on the part of GIBSON. He recognizes the obvious monetary motivation and feels that this probably plays a large part in the man's being willing to talk to ODYOKE. Another very possible motivation is GIBSON's disaffection with VERGES. Parenthetically, KULPA added that in Algiers and probably in Paris, GIBSON was really nothing more than a name that VERGES wanted on the masthead. GIBSON's primary duties as "editor" were probably in the area of translation. In light of this KULPA feels that perhaps some legitimate information of value can be obtained in the area of the Revolution. Again, parenthetically, it might be noted that KULPA felt that GIBSON was not as "idealistic" as his wife. Where GIBSON might adhere to the aspects of Marxism-Leninism that called for revolutionary change (probably because of his dissatisfaction with a world in which the black man had to endure a certain amount of discrimination), he is not a strict doctrinaire in any of his beliefs. On the other hand, KULPA pointed out that GIBSON's wife (who by the way is a Central European by birth--not British) is idealistic in the sense that she feels her brand of leftism must be internally and idealogically consistent. (This is why she objected to GIBSON's writing for Encounter and why she probably would get upset if she knew exactly what type of game her husband was currently playing with ODYOKE.)

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE...

CROSS REFERENCE TO: CS COPY

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELW - 21903

DATE: 12 February 1965 (stamped: 15 FEB 1965)

CLASSIFICATION: S-E-C-R-E-T

HQS FILE NUMBER: 201 - 306052 (handwritten: 201-306052)

ROUTING: 201-306052)
1 - AF/1
1 - CI/ICG
1 - CA/3
1 - CO/IO
1 - WE/BC/Chrono

RID/FI

DESTROY

ORIGINATING

OFFICE	TYPIST		EXT.
CI/ICG	A. GOODRICH	dab	5928

COORDINATING

OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE	OFFICER'S NAME
AF/1	12 Feb 65	C. Baker (in draft)
CA/3	12 Feb 65	W. Raymond (by phone)
CO/IO	12 Feb 65	R. Brown (by phone)
WE/BC/U		

RELEASING

OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE	OFFICER'S SIGNATURE
DCWE(BC)	12 Feb.	John F. Caswell

CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION S-E-C-R-E-T	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER OELW - 21903

3. We are currently having reference tape transcribed and will forward the transcription to the field as soon as it is completed.

JSTI
JOSEPH S. TIFFANY

James L. Griffiths
STEWART F. ROLNICK

2 - London
1 - Paris
1 - LCPIPIT

FORM 5-60 (40) 53a USE PREVIOUS EDITION.	CLASSIFICATION S-E-C-R-E-T	CONTINUED	PAGE NO. 2

MESSAGE FORM 33

ORIG : A. Goodrich
UNIT : CI/ICG
EXT : 5928
DATE : 12 Feb 65

☐ INDEX
☐ NO INDEX
☒ FILE IN CS FILE NO. 201 - 306052

S-E-C-R-E-T

ROUTING

1		5	
2		6	
3		7	
4		8	

☐ DESTROY
☐ RETURN TO BRANCH
☐ FILE RID

12 FEB 65 Z 12Z

TO : LONDON INFO: PARIS, LCPIPIT

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: CI/IC 2 INFO ADDP, WE 6, CA 2, CA/O 4, FE 6, FI, FI/INT 4, WH 7, VR, FILE

TO LOND INFO PARI, PALP CITE DIR

84695

LCHARVEST/KUDESK/QKOPERA

RE: A. OELW 21369

B. OELA 42410

15 FEB A.M.

FOLLOWING SUPPLEMENTARY REQUIREMENTS MAINLY DERIVED FROM REF B TAPE, FOR USE KATZENBACH DEBRIEFING GIBSON (G):

1. G SPEAKS ABOUT VERGES CONTACTS WITH FLN FEDERATION OF FRANCE AND FACT THAT $75,000 WAS FUNDED TO HIM THROUGH THE FEDERATION FOR REVOLUTION. WOULD BE INTERESTED IN G'S DETAILED COMMENTS ON THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF ALGERIANS IN FRANCE: LEADERSHIP, TIES WITH BEN BELLA, TIES WITH ERSTWHILE ALGERIAN OPPOSITION, TIES TO VERGES, SOURCE OF FUNDS, HOW MUCH SENT TO ALGERIA IN FORM OF REMITTANCES.

2. ENCOURAGE G TO TELL MORE ABOUT HIS WIFE, HIS WIFE'S CONNECTIONS WITH RABAH BITAT AND LATTER'S WIFE, HER POLITICAL IDEAS AND ANTECEDENTS.

3. "VERGES HAS DEBTS AMOUNTING TO MORE THAN $30,000". CAN G GIVE US A BREAKDOWN, ESTIMATE?

201-306052

AF 2/A

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE...

COORDINATING OFFICERS

RELEASING OFFICER

S-E-C-R-E-T

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

FORM 1-64 1389a OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS [redacted] RI COPY [redacted] RI COPY [redacted]

Copy No.

14-00000

RECEIVED
R.D./HIS

MESSAGE FORM

ORIG : A. Goodrich
UNIT : CI/ICG
EXT : 5928
DATE : 12 Feb 65

☐ INDEX
☐ NO INDEX
☒ FILE IN CS FILE NO. 201 - 306052

3 52 PM '65
S-E-C-R-E-T

ROUTING

1		5	
2		6	
3		7	
4		8	

TO : LONDON INFO: PARIS, LCPIPIT

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: INFO

- PAGE TWO -

TO LOND INFO. PARI, PALP CITE DIR 84695

4. WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE G TALK ABOUT HIS CONTACTS WITH ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR CHANDERLI IN GREATER DETAIL. WHAT FAVORS DID HE DO FOR CHANDERLI AND VICE-VERSA.

5. ANY INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION, PERSONALITIES AND ACTIVITIES OF LATIN AMERICAN BUREAU BRUSSELS. ANY INDICATION THIS BUREAU INVOLVED IN TRAINING OF LATIN AMERICANS IN ALGERIA?

6. INFORMATION ON RELATIONS OF VERGES WIFE WITH ALGERIANS BITAT AND KHIDER.

7. INFORMATION ON REVOLUTION BUREAUS ABROAD. HOW WERE STAFFS CHOSEN? WHAT ARE THEIR FUNCTIONS, OVERT AND COVERT?

END OF MESSAGE.

CA/B3 - W. Raymond (by phone)

CO/IO - R. Brown (by phone)

AF/1 - C. Baker (in draft)

John Caswell
DCWE(BC)

C/WE/BC/3

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

S-E-C-R-E-T

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

Copy No.

14-00000

INDEX ☐ YES ☒ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO 201-
X-REF TO FILE NO
FILE RID ☐ RET. TO BRANCH ☐
DESTROY ☐ SIG.

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

TOTAL COPIES 3

RI ☐ COPY ☐ SLOTTED

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SECRET

FROM LONDON

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

ACTION WE 8

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBED

TIME BY

INFO VR, FILE, FE/, CA2, CA/O4, CI, CI/OPS, CI/IC2, CI/A, FI, FI/SPG, FI/INT2

RI COPY

S E C R E T 04/1802Z

4 FEB 65 IN 73844

DIR INFO PALP PARI CITE LOND 5957

KUDESK LCHARVEST QKOPERA

REF LOND 5867 (IN 71348) *

ABSTRACT

1. JAGUAR STATE (SHAME-FACEDLY) THEY NOW LEARN GIBSON DEPARTED LOND 25 JAN FOR ZURICH.

2. OBVIATES NEED FOR IMMEDIATE PASSAGE FUNDS PER REF, BUT WOULD STILL LIKE KNOW STATUS FAIRMAN/GIBSON RELATIONSHIP PRIOR 15 FEB.

SECRET

CFN

* CLARIFICATION INSRUCTIONS GIVEN FAIRMAN

201-306052?

✓ Richard Gibson's 201-
Thomas

201-306052
4 Feb 65

FORM 1-64 1389 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

RI COPY SECRET RI COPY (35)

14-00000

DISPATCH

S-E-C-R-E-T

PROCESSING ACTION

MARKED FOR INDEXING

NO INDEXING REQUIRED

ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING

MICROFILM

TO: Chief of Station, London

INFO.

FROM: Chief, WE

SUBJECT: KUDESK/LCHARVEST
Debriefing of Richard T. GIBSON - Transmittal of Requirements

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Ref: OELA - 42,410, 26 January 1965

1. Forwarded as enclosure are requirements for the debriefing of Subject. Together with the requirements is a KUDESK narrative on VERGES-ANDERSSON-Revolution complex for the background information of Katzenbach. Further background on Revolution can be found, if you have not already done so, in the following dispatches:

OELA - 39,346, 26 Sept '63
OELW - 20,852, 16 Dec '63
OELA - 40,208, 24 Feb '64
OELA - 40,542, 15 Apr '64
OELA - 41,545, 10 Sept '64
OEL - 30,251, 24 Sept '64

2. We have not yet had time to review the tape of your first session with Subject forwarded with Reference, nor do we expect to get a transcription completed in time to reach you by 15 February. The list of names attached to Reference indicate considerable knowledgeability on the part of Subject as well a tendency to pour out his knowledge in a sort of stream of consciousness style. We fear that, if given the opportunity, Subject will take the bit in his teeth and as much money as he can in his hot little hands and be off and running. To prevent this we would like to suggest that the debriefing be set up on a tightly organized, businesslike basis. It would probably be advisable to write up the terms in a Letter of Agreement contract for Subject's signature before getting started, making sure to include a paragraph in which ODYOKE's obligations and promises are limited to the terms specifically enumerated in the document. We think that any meaningful debriefing will take 3 - 5 days, and there is good reason to believe that Subject will have information of sufficient interest to justify this expenditure of Case Officer time. We do not foresee any long range operational relationship with Subject. While we look at the debriefing as basically a one-shot proposition there will probably be follow-up questions and, perhaps, specific action requests, requiring a later contact. Therefore, the communication channel to Subject should be left open on a "don't call us, we'll call you" basis.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE...

8 FEB 1965
201-306052

CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
1 Att	OELW - 21869	3 February 1965
CS COPY	CLASSIFICATION: S-E-C-R-E-T	HQS FILE NUMBER: 201 - 306,052

1 - RI (201-306052)
ROUTING/INITIAL 1 - CI/I
1 - C/CO/IO w/encl
RID/A CA/3 w/encl
1 - WE/BC
RID/FI
RID/FI
RID/FI

ORIGINATING

OFFICE	OFFICER	TYPIST	EXT.
C/WE/BC/U	John G. Roberts	dab	7220

COORDINATING

OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE	OFFICER'S NAME
CI/ICG	3 Feb 65	Mr. Goodrich Coord in draft
C/CO/IO	2/3/65	Mr. [illegible]
C/CO	2/4/65	[illegible]
C/CA/3	2/4/65	[illegible]

RELEASING

OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE	OFFICER'S SIGNATURE
DCWE(BC)	5 Feb 65	John F. Caswell

FORM 1-63 53 USE PREVIOUS EDITION (40)

DISPATCH

14-00000

CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION S-E-C-R-E-T	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER OELW - 21869

3. In line with the need to put the debriefing on a businesslike (rather than a "flexible") basis, it might be a good idea to start by getting Subject to supply a personal history statement from the time of his first entry into leftist political movements to the present day. (This can be presented to Subject as a basis for us to formulate meaningful questions, not as any sort of personal "confession" on his part.) In addition to providing us with a check on his veracity, this will set the stage for a debriefing conducted on KUBARK's terms, not Subject's. It is important that it be made clear to Subject at the outset that we want facts, not speculation, commentary and analysis.

4. Please charge payments to Subject for the debriefing to Acct. Nr. 5137 - 1468 (Hqs. LCHARVEST OOA). Three hundred dollars for the initial 2½ hours talk with Subject is on the steep side. We were thinking in terms of $700 for five days debriefing with a bonus for a copy of the Revolution mailing list.

JST
JOSEPH S. TIFFANY

for James K. Griffith
STEWART F. ROLNICK

2 - Lond w/2cc encl.

FEB 1 ... 22

FORM 5-60 (40) 53a USE PREVIOUS EDITION.	CLASSIFICATION S-E-C-R-E-T	☐ CONTINUED	PAGE NO. 2

14-00000

Narrative

Nils ANDERSSON, Swedish-born resident of Switzerland, heads a printing and publishing establishment ("Editions la Cite") in Lausanne, said to have been set up in 1957 for the printing and distributing of Chinese literature. (This ties in with other information that the firm was established in Switzerland during the Algerian war in order to publish printed matter banned in France.) Since 1963 the firm had been responsible for the English-language edition of Revolution, but in 1964 the printing of the English-language edition was transferred to Paris where Revolution's main office is located. Swiss authorities had ordered ANDERSSON to cease publication of Revolution.

Revolution has had a complicated history. It is descended from African Revolution which first appeared in early 1963 in Algeria. Its editor, Jacques VERGES, is a former member of the French CP who broke with that party over the Algerian question. After VERGES, who briefly headed African Revolution, had a falling out with Algerian officials later in 1963 and left that country, he began a new publication in Switzerland using the facilities of the already established ANDERSSON firm. His new publication was called Revolution, sometimes known as Revolution — Asia, Latin America, Africa. (The Algerians continue to publish African Revolution, which has no known connection with Revolution.) Initially both the English and French editions of Revolution were handled by ANDERSSON's firm, but the publishing operations of the French edition were very soon moved to Paris. Later the printing, too, of the French edition was moved to Paris and only the English edition continued to be printed in Switzerland. VERGES and the main offices were located in Paris.*

Currently ANDERSSON is reported to publish Octobre, which is described as the organ of an organization in Switzerland called the "Centre Lenine." Both Octobre and the Centre Lenine are said to be controlled by ANDERSSON, but very little information is available about either. The Centre has been described as a propaganda arm of the Chinese Communists. There is some indication that they also have some connection with pro-Chinese dissident elements of the Spanish CP.

ANDERSSON's firm has also printed Mundo Obrero Revolucionario (MOR),

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* Although the English edition was printed in Switzerland, its editorial office was also in Paris, headed by Richard GIBSON, American negro. In late May and early June 1964 — when it was already apparent that Swiss authorities were going to close down the printing of Revolution in that country — GIBSON and Alexandre STRELKOFF went to The Netherlands seeking a firm there to print and distribute the English-language edition. It is not known why this effort was made instead of transferring the printing directly to Paris as was ultimately done.

ATT # 1 to CELW 21869

201-306052

the clandestine publication of a major pro-Chinese Spanish Communist group called the Partido Comunista Revolucionario. In view of recent reports that the MCR group may merge with one or more of the other dissident Spanish Communist groups and that a joint organ will be published, MCR may soon cease (or may already have ceased) publication. What role ANDERSSON may play in new publication efforts of the pro-Chinese Spanish dissidents is not known.

The clandestine leadership of the Partido Comunista Revolucionario has been located in Lausanne, Switzerland, with some representation also in Paris, but this group has apparently been receiving Chinese financial assistance through the GRIPPA party in Belgium. Another pro-Chinese Spanish group in Switzerland, the Oposicion Revolucionario Comunista located in Geneva, has been publishing La Chispa. The Chispa group has reportedly been receiving funds from the Chinese Embassy in Bern. Still another pro-Chinese Spanish group, the Agrupacion Comunista Proletario, has been publishing Proletario, apparently from Paris but with some representation also reported in Belgium. While the group has apparently had some contact with GRIPPA in Belgium, the Paris-based group at one time at least appeared to be sponsored or aided by VERGES. (GRIPPA has played an active role in trying to bring the different Spanish dissident groups to a merger.)

The relationship between GRIPPA and ANDERSSON, GRIPPA and VERGES, and VERGES and ANDERSSON is anything but clear. Some part of the confusion may result from GRIPPA's driving efforts to function as the director of Chinese political operations in Europe, and to try to bring the activities of others under his control.

a. GRIPPA was once reported to have said he had "lost confidence" in Revolution. Among his reported reasons was a belief that VERGES wanted to be designated absolute leader in Europe for the "revolutionary movement." Somewhat later GRIPPA was reported as saying that the Chinese were no longer subsidizing Revolution and that it was now being backed by Paris editor Francois MASPERO.

b. GRIPPA or his aides also appear to have been responsible for stories circulating among some pro-Chinese European dissidents that ANDERSSON had been written off by the Chinese as a "Trotskyite." GRIPPA has also been quoted as saying that the printing of MCR would be transferred from Lausanne to Belgium and to GRIPPA's own publishing facility. (This is not known to have taken place.)

c. There have been reports, unexplained, that there is bad blood between VERGES and ANDERSSON.

14-00000

REQUIREMENTS

ANDERSSON

1. Life story, with particular coverage of the founding of his firm "Editions la Cite" in Switzerland. Dates, contacts, financing. Biographic data also on his wife.

2. Details on "Centre Lenine" and its publication Octobre. Why founded, by whom, how financed, present activities?

3. Details of relationship between ANDERSSON and the MOR group of dissident Spanish Communists. How were they put in contact with each other, how is MOR printing financed? Does ANDERSSON play any role vis-a-vis other Spanish dissident groups?

4. Methods and channels by which he has contact with the Chinese Communists?

5. Full details on the relationship between ANDERSSON and VERGES, past and present?

Revolution

6. How is "Revolution" financed? We should like to have the whole funding situation described: amount of support, from what sources, method of transmittals, payment of editorial and publication costs.

7. Life story of VERGES, with particular coverage of period 1962 to present. Who invited him to Algeria in 1963, why did he quarrel with the Algerians? Who directed him to ANDERSSON in Switzerland, why did Revolution's main office move to Paris? Did VERGES live in Switzerland in 1963. Where and for how long?

8. Why was the English-language edition continued with ANDERSSON's firm?

9. Biographic data on members of editorial staff.
   a. What is the magazine's policy toward the use of stringer correspondents?

10. Relationship of VERGES to pro-Chinese dissident Spanish factions, in particular the group publishing Proletario.

11. Any info on the mechanics of international distribution of Revolution. How are mailing lists compiled? Use of foreign distributors? (NOTE: We are keenly interested in procuring a copy of the mailing list.

14-00000

12. Methods and channels by which VERGES has contact with the Chinese Communists or any others who currently provide him with backing.

13. With whom does VERGES associate most closely in Paris?

14. With which Algerians is VERGES in contact today. How and where is this contact maintained?

15. Discreet probing on STRELKOFF and his orientation and sponsorship is also indicated.

16. What are the functions of the advisory board of Revolution? Were members chosen by Verges? How do they communicate with VERGES?

17. What guidance if any do the financial sponsors of Revolution give the editorial staff? Do they supply packaged articles? Who decides what articles are to be used in the different language editions?

18. Complete review of GIBSON's relationship with Verges. When and where did they meet, under what circumstances? What briefing did Verges give GIBSON concerning the purposes, sponsorship and line of Revolution?

19. What exactly were the duties of GIBSON in Paris and Lausanne on Revolution?

20. Does "Revolution" grant reprint authorization? If so, do you know of any publications that have carried "Revolution" material?

21. What is the source of photographs used by the magazine?

GRIPPA

22. Explain his relationship to other pro-Chinese dissident factions in Western European CPs. Is he in contact with VERGES? With ANDERSSON? Details.

23. Why was GRIPPA not asked to assist in finding a new printer for the English edition of Revolution?

24. Has he ever made any financial contributions to VERGES or ANDERSSON?

FRONT GROUPS

25. All information available on Lionel Morrison, including biographic data, current status of Gibson-Morrison relationship.

26. All information available on the Afro-Asian Journalists Association, headquartered in Cairo. (Note, an AAJA conference is slated for March in Algiers).
  a. Identify any of the individuals (outside of Morrison) connected with it.
  b. Identify any AAJA contacts in Europe or Africa.

27. Any information on the structure, plans, finances or personalities of the Pan African Journalist's Union, headed by Kofi Baatsi, and headquartered in Accra.

28. Any knowledge of the International Organization of Journalists, headquartered in Prague. Has GIBSON met any of its officials, or attended any of its meetings.

29. Any direct knowledge of the officers, employees, procedures etc. of Prensa Latina offices in Europe.

30. Any knowledge of the officers and operations of the NCNA offices in Europe and North Africa?

31. Any contact with representatives of, or any knowledge of the propaganda operations of the NFLSV (National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam), which has an office in Algiers?

32. Knowledge of any officers or national leaders of the World Peace Council in Noth Africa or Europe?

Carribean

33. Any current or past contacts with Caribbean revolutionaries? Describe.

34. Info on the present status of the Mouvement de Liberation pour la Zone des Caraibes (MLZC), which has been mentioned by name in the Economist.

35. We are interested in the present stage of organization or disorganization of the MLCZ (which has not been heard from for almost two years) and any other info available on the coordination of the anti-colonial struggle in the Caribbean; especially involvement of Cubans, Algerians, Soviets, Trotskyists, others. (See attached dispatch, OCOW-4712, for background on the MLCZ.)

36. Does Revolution receive Cuban assistance? Specifically what is the nature of the relationship with Revolution in Havana? Contact with Carlos FRANQUI?

Miscellaneous Leftist Groups

37. Describe relationship, and persons involved, of Revolution with the New Left Review and the Movement for Colonial Freedom in Great Britain. (These

groups have placed ads in the magazine. What did they pay for the space? How?

38. Any info on GIBSON contacts with members of the pro-Chinese Communist Party of Switzerland (formerly dissident PDT of Montreux).

39. Did GIBSON or any other member of the Revolution staff ever have dealings with Michael RAPTIS (aka "Pablo") or any of his group? Describe in detail.

40. Any info on the Red Flag and that monthly's editor John Llewellyn DAVIS. Describe contacts between the DAVIS group and Revolution.

41. Any info on, contacts with, the Du Bois group in Ghana? Hammer and Steel in Boston?

Switzerland

42. What American contacts did GIBSON maintain in Lausanne and surroundings, particularly with young students in the area? Any Arab contacts?

43. Describe the Party mechanism to which you belong, if any, in Switzerland. Indentify the individuals involved, meeting places.

Personal Contacts

Biographic data, including current addresses and activities and the status of your relationship with the following individuals and/or groups would be appreciated:

44. Maurice SINE, cartoonist. His past and present role, first in Revolution Africaine and then Revolution. Others in Express crew (e.g. STRELKOV) who went to Algeria? Did all return to France?

45. Do you know any Americans attending the subversive/sabotage school in Prague? Any info on this institution and the indentities of participants would be much appreciated.

46. Rosalynde AINSLIE (London).

47. Mme. Michele MESTRE (Paris) Relationship to VERGES group.

48. F.E.I. IMOKHAI, Rev. bureau man in Nigeria.

49. Hamza ALAVI. Former editorial board who reportedly resigned his post. Circumstances of his resignation? Current position? Revolution Editorial Board Members:

50. BABU

51. Amilcar CABRERA

52. Demba DIALLO

53. Castro da SILVA

54. Martin VALDES

55. Hasan RIAD

56. Maulana Abdul Hamid BHASHANI

57. Marcos FERRER

58. Frene GINWALA, East African residing in London.

59. Carlos LANCA and Patricia McGowan PINHEIRO, reported to be Lanca's wife, in Algeria? Any other current Algerian contacts?

60. Muhamed HARBI, who replaced VERGES as editor of Revolution Africaine.

61. Robert WILLIAMS (American in Peking)

62. Muhamed KHIDER. Was his departure from Algeria related in any way to the depature of VERGES?

63. Sub Sahara Africans, particularly in Guinea, Mali and Ghana, with pro-ChiCom links or sympathies.

64. Holden ROBERTO (Angola)

65. Mario DeAndrade (Angola)

66. Michael TABATA (South Africa)

67. Francois MASPERO, Paris publisher of Partisan. How financed?

68. Andre BELGE. Any connection with Rev.?

69. Nguyen KIEN (or Lan Ngo MANH or Ngo Manh LAN).

Latin America

70. Background circumstances leading to the decision to publish Revolution in Spanish in Bogota.

71. Biographic info on Cesar PALACIOS P., described as editor of the Bogota edition.

72. Mario ARANGO, Director of the Bogota edition.

73. Is it intended to publish a Spanish edition of Revolution in other cities in Latin America? Are any other foreign editions planned?

74. Are articles translated into Spanish in Europe and then sent to Bogota, or is the translated work done in Bogota.

75. How and through whom is the Spanish language edition of Revolucion financed. Details.

76. Biographic info on Jerome FINAMOUR, bureau man in Brazil.

ChiCom Contacts

77. Did you have any contact with the New China News Agency? If so, explain the nature of the relationship and persons with whom you dealt.

78. In the course of your editorial activities did you meet any Chinese Communists? If so, please provide information on the individuals with whom you had contact.

79. Any info on contacts by VERGES and/or other Revolution staff members with NCNA representatives or ChiCom diplomats in Paris or Bern.

80. An account of GIBSON's time in Algiers when he worked on Revolution Africaine would be useful. Also, circumstances under which GIBSON went to Algiers and then to Switzerland to start English-language edition. With whose funds?

14-00000

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

TOTAL COPIES 24

SECRET

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FILE IN CS FILE NO. 201-306-052

FILE RID · RET. TO BRANCH

DESTROY · SIG.

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

FROM: LONDON

ACTION: WE-8

ADVANCE COPY · ISSUED · SLOTTED · TUBED

INFO: VR. FILE, AddP, CI, CI/OPS, CA/O-4, CA-2, FE-6, FI, CI/IC-2

SECRET 01/1714Z

PALP INFO DIR PARI CITE LOND 5806

SKOPERA LCHARVEST KUDESK

1 FEB 65 IN 71348

1. REQUEST CLARIFICATION INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN FAIRMAN RE PASSAGE MONEY TO GIBSON AS DISCUSSED WITH SOTHERN 25 JAN.

2. LOND BELIEVES GIBSON HAS NOT YET DEPARTED FOR EUROPEAN TRIP AND HOLD-UP MAY BE DUE NON-RECEIPT 100 POUNDS FROM FAIRMAN. IF NOT INCONSISTENT YOUR LATEST INFO FROM FAIRMAN AND UNLESS HOS OBJECTS SUGGEST LOND CONTACT FAIRMAN AND AUTHORIZE PASSAGE FUNDS NOW RATHER THAN AS STATED DIR 72506.

SECRET

CFN

SECRET

201-306052
1 Feb 65

2 FEB 1965

FORM 1-64 1389 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS RI COPY RI COPY (35)

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING

PROPOSED	ACTION	ACCOMPLISHED
	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
XXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
	ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
	ABSTRACT	
	MICROFILM	

TO: Chief, WE

INFO. Chief, KUWOLF; Chief, KUDESK; Chief, FE; Chief, AF; Chief, WH; COS, Paris; Chief, LCPIPIT; COS, Brussels

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: LCHARVEST/KUDESK/JAGUAR
JAGUAR report on GIBSON

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

REF: OELA-42,410, 26 January 1965

1. Transmitted herewith are copies of JAGUAR's latest report on Richard Thomas GIBSON, which they compiled for us on being informed of our current operational interest in him. We expect that further information will be forthcoming since, as previously noted, they have instituted additional coverage of GIBSON's activities.

2. JAGUAR refer us to their previous reporting on GIBSON, which has been contained in their reports on Revolution. These include OEL-36,105(29 August 1963); OELA-40,542(15 April 1964); OELA-41,545(10 September 1964); OEL-39,251(24 September 1964); OELA-4?,788(20 October 1964).

3. JAGUAR also point out that the paper contains information received from a number of secret sources, and they request that we not give it any distribution beyond KUBARK without consulting them, unless, of course, we have the information from other sources. JAGUAR have made a copy available to ODENVY London.

4. JAGUAR also informed us orally that the persons they suspect to have played a most prominent role in the 1963 charges of GIBSON's CIA affiliation - the two persons referred to in para 3 of their paper - were Rosalynd AINSLIE and Patricia McGOWAN. JAGUAR gave us this information informally and off the record. It is interesting to note that, in Ref, GIBSON agreed that AINSLIE was one but made no mention of McGOWAN.

5. GIBSON spoke of the affair of JAGUAR's para 3 (a) at some length, giving a rather different interpretation, however. Paras 3 (b), (c), and (d) are rather more speculative.

6. JAGUAR also told us, informally, that some of their information on GIBSON, as contained herein, derives from some of his correspondence. The implication is not that JAGUAR has been reading GIBSON's mail, but that, by intercepts or penetrations, they have been reading the mail of some of the

201-306052

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

1att.

CS COPY

DATE TYPED: 27 Jan. 65

DATE DISPATCHED:

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-42,411

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO
	SECRET	OELA-42,411

persons to whom he has written - or, of course, mail of other persons, in which mention is made of GIBSON.

7. As a belated footnote to Ref, we learn that JAGUAR had previously identified the Swiss printer as Nils ANDERSON (see OEL-39,251, 24 September 1964).

8. JAGUAR informed us on 26 January that GIBSON had requested (prior to 23 January) a one-month extension of his residence permit, to enable him to make his proposed European trip and return to the U.K. The extension was granted without demur.

George H. KATZENBACH

Attachment:
JAGUAR report, herewith

Distribution:
3-Chief, WE w/att h/w
2-Chief, KUWOLF w/att h/w
2-Chief, KUDESK w/att h/w
2-Chief, FE w/att h/w
2-Chief, AF w/att h/w
2-Chief, WH w/att h/w
1-COS, Paris w/att h/w
1-Chief, LCPIPIT w/att h/w
1-COS, Brussels w/att h/w

FORM 10-57 53a (40) USE PREVIOUS EDITION. REPLACES FORMS 51-28, 51-28A AND 51-29 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE.	CLASSIFICATION SECRET	CONTINUED	PAGE NO. 2

Richard Thomas GIBSON
Born: Los Angeles on 13.5.31
Address: 30, Stockleigh Hall,
Prince Albert Road, London, N.W.8.

GIBSON has been connected with the pro-Chinese Communist publication "Revolution" and its predecessor, "African Revolution", at least since April, 1963. He made available the following information about himself as part of a publicity campaign planned for "African Revolution" in the first half of 1963:-

1951-52:	worked in Rome for the Mediterranean News Bureau of the "Christian Science Monitor";
1955-58:	editor with the English language service of "Agence France Presse" in Paris;
1958:	arrested by the French authorities because of his work for the Algerian National Liberation Front;
1959-60:	returned to the U.S.A. and employed by the C.B.S. News in New York until dismissed because of his pro-Cuban activities;
	awarded a C.B.S. fellowship in African Studies at Columbia University;
1960-September, 1962:	Executive Secretary of the "Fair Play for Cuba" Committee in the U.S.A.

2. In 1963, GIBSON lived in Lausanne, where "African Revolution" and subsequently the English edition of "Revolution" were printed, but he paid frequent visits to "Revolution's" Paris office until the end of the year when "Revolution" was banned in Switzerland and he was refused permission to continue to live there. He then settled in Paris where, according to one report, he and his wife lived in "quite a luxurious flat". It would, however, be wrong to infer from this that GIBSON's means enabled him to enjoy high living standards, as another source subsequently reported that he had not paid any rent for the flat from May to October, 1964.

3. As far back as August, 1963, there were rumours in Communist circles in London that GIBSON was an American agent and that he had provided United States Intelligence with the names of certain unidentified United States negroes in accordance with a brief received from the Americans. Information from a well-placed source suggests that these rumours may have originated from the jealous reactions of two persons, connected with "Revolution", whose aspirations with the publication were cut short when GIBSON became Editor of the English edition. However, by mid-1964, VERGES, the Editorial Director of "Revolution", was claiming that complaints about GIBSON's activities had been received not only from London, but also from Cuba, American negroes in New York and a relative of GIBSON's who was working for the magazine "Spark" in Ghana. As a result, GIBSON was dismissed from the editorial staff of "Revolution". Charges made against him include the following:-

/ (a) ...

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(a) denouncing, in 1958, an unidentified negro, possibly a Communist, who was expelled from France;

(b) informing the publication's contacts in China that "Revolution" was disintegrating;

(c) providing "Newsweek" and the "New York Herald Tribune" with information in an attempt to discredit "Revolution";

(d) connections with the C.I.A.

Although GIBSON has denied the charges made against him, he realises that they have stuck and that it will be some years before he will be acceptable to any left wing organisation.

4. Having failed to find employment in Paris after leaving "Revolution" in July, 1964, GIBSON went to the United Kingdom on 7th October and was joined later by his British wife, Joy Marjorie, and his two children. He hoped to find work in London, but at the end of November, he was still without a job and dependent on his wife's family, who were paying the rent of his flat at 30, Stockleigh Hall, Prince Albert Road, London, N.W.8. It is now known whether GIBSON has been able to find employment.

5. Nothing is known at present about GIBSON's contacts in the United Kingdom. Although during the time he worked for "Revolution" he was in touch with members of the pro-Chinese Communist splinter group in the United Kingdom - the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity - it is not known whether he has resumed contact. It has been reported that he still keeps in touch with the coloured South African journalist, Lionel MORRISON, who is employed by the Chinese-backed Afro-Asian Journalists' Association (A.A.J.A.) in Djakarta.

Comment: Para. 5: "Afro-Asian Journalist", no. 4, dated July, 1964, and published by the A.A.J.A., contains an article "Two Revolutionary Journals" by MORRISON, the journals being "Revolution" and "Spark".

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DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

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TO: Chief, WE

INFO: Chief, KUWOLF; Chief, KUDESK; Chief, FE; Chief, AF; Chief, WH; COS, Paris; Chief, LCPIPIT; COS, Brussels

FROM: Chief of Station, London

SUBJECT: KUDESK/LCHARVEST/REVOLUTION
Tape of Interview with Richard Thomas GIBSON

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

REF: LOND 5706, 21 January 1965

1. Attached is the tape of the interview with GIBSON, recorded in an Embassy office, using a Uher 4000 Report - 5 recorder, recording at a speed of 15/16 feet per minute. The interviewer used the alias of Earl Wilson. Gibson arrived at 1745 and departed at about 2030.

2. We are not attempting to summarize or analyze GIBSON's comments in this dispatch. The tape provides a much more revealing picture than our subjective comments could. A few notes, however, appear to be in order.

3. Speaking of his departure, GIBSON said he planned to leave London on 24 or 25 January. As of noon 24 January, at least, he was still in London because I saw him walking on St. John's Wood High Street. (A potential problem exists here: GIBSON and I live within a few blocks of one another and not infrequently ride the same bus line. This problem can only be met when it manifests itself.) JAGUAR, incidentally, has alerted its immigration contacts (prior to our meeting with GIBSON) and requested that his name be put on a watch list. They said that they would inform us if they learn that he has left the country. We have not yet heard that he has left.)

4. GIBSON was given money amounting to $300. Under the circumstances of his plans, as he expressed them, it seemed reasonable to do so, to ensure, at least partially, that he would come back to talk more. He was more than willing to take the money and raised the initial suggestion of $200 to $300 or $400. His obvious shift in his line regarding dollars (as opposed to pounds) is further indicative of his willingness to get what he could.

5. The considerable number of names mentioned by GIBSON makes the transcription of the notes a sizable chore, and in order to lessen this burden a listing has been compiled of almost all of the names, in the order in which they appear in the tape, with the exception of VERGES and the Free Play for Cuba Committee, CBS and a few others. The names appear only one time each on the list, although many of them crop up repeatedly in the tape.

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GROUP 1
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CROSS REFERENCE TO: CS COPY

DATE TYPED: 26 Jan. 65

DATE DISPATCHED: 27 JAN

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: OELA-42,410.

HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

Gatts.

A few of the phrases that do not appear too clearly on the tape are included on the list. Occasionally the names are written phonetically, indicated by (ph.).

6. GIBSON's offer of a photograph of VERGES was not accepted, on the assumption that KUBARK already has a photo. If this is not the case, let us know, and we will include that in our requirements for a subsequent meeting.

7. The Afro-Asian Journalists Association man is apparently Lionel MORRISON. He is also referred to as the "man from Djakarta". (See LOND 5575 of 12 January 1965.)

8. The reference to the Cultural Attache of the Cuban Embassy corroborates (rather, is corroborated by) the material referred to in para 4 of LOND 5337 (22 December 1965). We are not fully aware of the Cuban's political orientation, however,

9. In reviewing the tape, it will become apparent that the arrangements with GIBSON were left fairly flexible for the future. It would appear, from his responses, that a longer range relationship with him could, in fact, be established if, after thorough review of his materials, that seems necessary or desirable.

10. We will expect, in addition to the requirements that have been promised, that Headquarters will advise us on their desire to arrange for the one-shot approach previously suggested by Headquarters, or a different arrangement. We are unable to assess the validity or worth of all the comments he made. Our impression, however, is that he is reasonably knowledgeable of a number of fields of interest to us. We also suspect that in some areas his knowledge is quite superficial. His access to various areas of potential interest may be partially proved by his trip around Europe and should be a useful indication of how we may be interested in playing him. The possibility of his being a provocation has not been overlooked, of course, and we welcome Headquarters' comments on this score as well.

11. We would also appreciate further comments on various personalities, with whom we are not familiar - "Anderson" is the most obvious in this category.

12. Headquarters is requested to provide us with a transcription of this tape, as well as the promised requirements, prior to 15 February. ODENVY should also be provided with as much of the material as is of interest to them, and a copy of that material should be given to us to pass to the ODENVY office here. We are also obliged to pass to JAGUAR such elements of this material as is of legitimate concern to them. In this case, we would suggest that this be interpreted rather liberally and Headquarters-prepared copy be forwarded along with the other items listed above. (Note that JAGUAR has been quite cooperative while we have been approaching this case, and their recent run-down on GIBSON is being pouched almost simultaneously with this dispatch.)

George H. KATZENBACH

Attachment: herewith
1-List of names
2-Tape (WE only)

Gibson was not aware that the interview was being taped.

Distribution:
~~3~~ 2-Chief, WE w/att h/w
2-Chief, KUWOLF w/att h/w
2-Chief, KUDESK w/att h/w
2-Chief, FE w/att h/w
2-Chief, AF w/att h/w
2-Chief, WH w/att h/w
1-COS, Paris w/att h/w
1-Chief, LCPIPIT w/att h/w
1-COS, Brussels w/att h/w

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Attachment to OELA-42,410
26 January 1965

List of names on tape, approximately in order of appearance:

PRJTO - "very silly man in Paris"
"next to Balmain"

"PR stunt"

"told by ANDERSON"

DELDUCCA (ph.)

to BABU

in POMPIDOU's office

Rabah BITAT

Zohra DRITT (ph.)

Revolution Africaine

Djamila BOUHIRED

Bill GRIFFITHS

French DST

articles for Encounter

Jerome LANDON (ph.)

Edition Lingui (very ph.)

Argument

Reunion Island

Hachete

Ngo Kanh LAN - Nguyen KIEN

Mr. SOONG

Fanonist - FANON

ODINGA of Kenya

Robert LEHMAN

Dennis POMBEYE of Tanzania Foreign Office

BABU and HANGA

Rosalynd AINSLIE

Sen BASHID (??ph.)

Jack WODDIS

Kay BEAUCHAMP (ph.)

POMBEYE (again)

CHANDRA (Algierian Ambassador to UN - ph.)

SARTRE saw Fidel

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Dienbienphu - Evian

OPRA

Ollie HARRINGTON (the comment "You take Harrington" means "You use Harrington's name.")

Pittsburgh Courier

Richard WRIGHT

William ___________ SMITH - Ghana television

C. L. R. JAMES

George PADMORE

AFP

Miles STEWART

Tony BLOND (ph.)

Tony HAGEN

(Robert) WILLIAMS

Bayard RUSTIN

Emmet TILL

PATTERSON

ANDERSON (again)

(Jacques) GRIPPA

Veuvey

Bill WORTHY (ph.)

Monthly Review

??? SUBERMAN and Paul SWEAZEY (ph.)

Centre d'Etudes et Documentation de Marseilles

Amitie Franco-Chinoise

Clichy

BEAULIEU

TSHOMBE

ADOULA

Bob TABER

Cleanth BROOKS

Carlos FRANQUI

Leo LABEDZ

Ved MEHTA

Magnum

Week - published in Nottingham

SECRET

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S E C R E T 211612Z

21 Jan 65 IN 64592

DIR INFO PALP PARI CITE LOND 5706

LCHARVEST KUDESK

REF DIR 78506

AF | 1 | A

1. LOND OFFICER, POSING AS ODYOKE TDY FROM WASH, ARRANGED FOR GIBSON COME EMBASSY FOR INTERVIEW. G, WITHOUT ASKING QUESTIONS, CAME WILLINGLY FOR INTERVIEW, WHICH LASTED OVER TWO HOURS, MOSTLY SQUIRT TRANSMISSION WITH DIRECTIONAL PRODS FROM INTERVIEWER.

2. G VEHEMENTLY, REPEATEDLY AND APPARENTLY SINCERELY VOLUNTEERED HIS CONVICTION THAT NO CHICOM FUNDS, OTHER THAN 3000 SUBSCRIPTIONS, SUPPORTING REVOLUTION, ALTHOUGH VERGES HAS LONG HOPED ENTICE THEM TO DO SO. IN GENERAL TERMS, G COVERED HISTORY HIS INVOLVEMENT ANTI-COLONIALIST AFFAIRS SINCE 1958 - ALGERIAN INVOLVEMENT IN PARI, FPCC WORK IN NEW YORK, TRAVEL ALGIERS AND SUBSEQUENT VICISSITUDES WITH REVOLUTION.

201-306052
22 JAN 1965

3. G LEAVING NEXT FEW DAYS TO TRAVEL EUROPE, TO INTERVIEW VARIOUS LEFTISTS AND COMMIES (INCL GRIPPA) AS WELL AS NUMBER OF PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH PRODUCTION OF REVOLUTION. LATTER

SECRET

14-00000

RECEIVED RID/MIS **SECRET** JN 64592 PAGE 2

IN ORDER PRY FURTHER 3 JUN 4 PM '65 INTO VERGES' FINANCIAL CONDITION AND SOURCE OF REVOLUTION FINANCING, WHICH G BELIEVES HAS BEEN FROM ALGERIAN SOURCES VIA SUISSE. WILL TALK WITH "LITTLE MAN WHO DOES MANY THINGS FOR CHICOMS IN BERN" FNU ANDERSON, WHO ONE OF G'S BEST SOURCES ON VERGES RELATIONSHIP CHINESE BERN. WILL BE AWAY FROM LOND TILL ABOUT 15 FEB WHEN NEXT CONTACT SCHEDULED. STA GAVE G 300 DOLLARS TO HELP PAY COSTS OF TRIP, MAKE SURE HIS FUTURE COOPERATION. G SAYS HE EXPECTS RECEIVE 100 POUNDS FROM FAIRMAN 300 DOLLARS FROM ATLANTIC MONTHLY, WHICH WILL ALSO MAKE TRIP POSSIBLE. HAS AGREED PROVIDE MANUSCRIPTS AND, IF WAY CAN BE FOUND GET THEM OUT WITHOUT AROUSING WIFE'S SUSPICION, SEVERAL BOXES OF CARDS WHICH CONSTITUTE MAILING LIST.

4. DISPATCH WILL FOLLOW, PLUS TAPES (FOR DIR ONLY) OF MEETING.

S E C R E T

CFN

SECRET

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FROM PARIS

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ABSTRACT / XFI / INDEX / DESTROY

S E C R E T 201543Z

LOND INFO DIR PALP CITE PARI 8742
KOBIRD LCHARVEST DIDCRIC QKOPERA KUDESK

RE A LOND 5652 (IN 61219)
B PALP 3873 (IN 60705)

20 Jan 65 IN 63559

1. PARI CONCURS REF A.

2. PALP INFORMS US GIBSON LETTER (REF B PARA 1) NOT BEING PUBLISHED. HOWEVER LETTER ITSELF PROMPTS FOLL STA QUESTIONS: (A) DOES GIBSON BELIEVE OWN DENIALS OF CHICOM SUPPORT "REVOLUTION"? IF SO HE LESS WELL INFORMED THAN WE HOPED. NOTE HE OFFERS NO EXPLANATION FOR MAGAZINE FINANCIAL RECOVERY, WHICH RECENT PRICE REVISIONS AND BI-MONTHLY ISSUE UTTERLY FAIL EXPLAIN. (B) IF GIBSON DELIBERATELY FALSIFYING QUESTION CHICOM SUPPORT, WHAT WERE HIS MOTIVES SINCE HE PRESUMABLY HOPED LETTER BE PUBLISHED?

3. OFPA 77970 (POUCHED HQS 18 JAN, LOND 20 JAN) PROVIDES BACKGROUND MATERIAL INCLUDING MEMO GIBSON CONVERSATION WITH GOSSETT, AMEMBASSY PARI.

4. INDEX 201-306052.

20 Jan 65

201-306052

RI COPY (repeated down both margins)

FORM 1-64 1389 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS [redacted] RI COPY [redacted] RI COPY [redacted] (35)

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: S-E-C-R-E-T

PROCESSING ACTION: MARKED FOR INDEXING / NO INDEXING REQUIRED / ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING / MICROFILM

TO: Chief of Station, London

INFO.

FROM: Chief, WE

SUBJECT: DTDORIC LCHARVEST KUDESK
Transmittal copy of Gibson Letter to KUBARK

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

REF: DIR 78506

As stated in reference we forward herewith copy of Gibson's letter which the Station might consider using ultimately to establish bona fides if other means of establishing bona fides (such as phone call to Embassy) does not satisfy Gibson. London case officer in showing the letter to Gibson need not admit to or represent himself as a member of KUBARK, though Gibson might well make that assumption.

STEWART F. ROLNICK

2 - London
(w/att U.S.C.)
T.N.

201- 306052

CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
GS COPY	OELW-21828	21 JAN 1965 / 19 January 1965
	CLASSIFICATION	HQS FILE NUMBER
	S-E-C-R-E-T-	201 - 306052

1 - RI w/att
1 - WE/BC

ROUTING	INITIAL
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RID/...	

ORIGINATING

OFFICE	OFFICER	TYPIST	EXT
WE/BC(U)	John G. Roberts	ib	7220

COORDINATING

OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE	OFFICER'S NAME

RELEASING

OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE	OFFICER'S SIGNATURE
DCWE(BC)	19 Jan '65	JOHN F. CASWELL

FORM 1-63 53 USE PREVIOUS EDITION (40)

DISPATCH

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DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

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TO: Chief, WE ATTN: Chief, FE

INFO.: Chief of Station, London

FROM: Chief of Station, Paris

SUBJECT: KOBIRD/LCHARVEST/UNBOUND - Identity A, formerly employed by Identity B

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

REFERENCE: PARI 8052

NOTE: The following round-up and commentary on Iden A had been drafted before PALP 3017 of 6 January 1965 and later traffic presented the case in a somewhat different light. We forward the following anyway, as some of the background and suggestions still seem pertinent. Several questions raised below have now been resolved, notably the allegation of an Iden A/KUBARK link (explained by the ODENVY letter of 1 December 1964, not available when the following was written). Copies of recent PALP correspondence on Iden A, passed to us on 13 January 1965, are attached as Attachment 3, USC.

1. Upon receiving the memorandum cited in the reference, we requested further details from UNBOUND, stressing our interest in the report that CPUSA members had given IDEN C documents which showed IDEN A belonged to "the services of KUBARK". D/5986 of 30 December 1964, UNBOUND's answer to our query, merely reiterates that the UNBOUND source, a good one, based the report on a "communication of documents" by American Communists to IDEN C, which supposedly established that IDEN A belonged to KUBARK; UNBOUND states that the source is not in a position to identify the persons in question. UNBOUND's reply suggests the information might have come from an audio operation; we might mention here that IDEN A has appeared occasionally on UNPAY, but never in an informative way. A mail intercept might also be the source of UNBOUND's report, or it may have come from a third service (conceivably JAGUAR or SMOTH).

2. Our continuing preoccupation with the IDEN A question is three-fold: (a) his expulsion from IDEN B (and thus from acceptance by pro-Peiping groups) opens the door for his possible recruitment; (b) we would like to determine whether his ouster was engineered by personal enemies or whether he actually did work for an intelligence service, and which one; (c) as Peiping regards the USA as its primary target, the Chinese can be expected to continue propaganda attacks designed to create IDEN D tension and inflame the Afro/Asians

Attachments: 1. Excerpt from RFE research bulletin, 19 Nov 64, h/w
S/C attached in R/fw 2. Memorandum of Conversation, USC
3. Letters dated 4 and 6 Jan 65, USC
4. Identities, USC

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CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
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	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET	HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-306052

CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION SECRET	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER OFPA 77970

against the U.S.A. While domestic effects of such propaganda are properly handled by ODENVY, the manipulation of IDEN Ds to further Chinese propaganda abroad becomes KUBARK's concern.

3. KUBARK's recruitment of IDEN A, or establishment of controlled access to him, could be extremely useful in countering attempts to undermine the USA with the Afro-Asians. IDEN A presumably still has a reasonably up-to-date idea of IDEN B plans in this regard, and he must know the names and locations of many persons involved. The most effective approach to IDEN A would probably be through an offer of money (his history indicates venality, and at present he appears to be in financial difficulties), and by stressing his chance to get even with IDEN C. The purity of IDEN A's Communism is open to question and should not impede recruitment; a more formidable obstacle to a successful operation is his possible connection with a foreign intelligence service. This could be a Western service but might also be the Soviets, for whom he would serve the dual purpose of causing trouble for the USA and at the same time reporting on the Chinese propaganda machine; it is a matter of record that the Soviets view IDEN B seriously. Whatever the basis for a KUBARK approach to IDEN A, it would require careful security planning, taking cognizance of his instability and his known attitude toward ODYOKE as an IDEN D.

4. "Revolution" has featured articles by three American Negroes, Richard GIBSON, Robert Franklyn WILLIAMS, and Malcolm X, all obviously intended to prejudice readers against the USA on ground of racial injustice. All three men are or have been involved with foreign Communists: GIBSON and WILLIAMS with the Chinese and the Cubans, notably, and Malcolm X with the Chinese and various African Communists (actual or crypto). The "New York Herald Tribune" of 4 January 1965 reported Malcolm's statement that he hopes to "internationalize" the American Negro problem, and that he claims to have influenced several African governments to make representations in the U.N. against the USA's treatment of its Negroes. This may be a foretaste of Chinese plans for foreign exploitation of this issue; Malcolm was interviewed by "Revolution" in Cairo, which has since proved its enthusiastic anti-Americanism.

5. OFP-14693 reports that Philip BART, a pro-Soviet official of the CPUSA, stated in December 1964 that the CPUSA has positive proof that four members of their Chinese faction are being paid by the Chinese Communists. (It is perhaps relevant to note here that the advent of "Revolution" was hailed by letters to the Editor from American leftists, including the FPCC; according to OFPA-37875, Vincent T. LEE of "All Worlds Publications" in New York City takes subscriptions for "Revolution"). It is hard to say where IDEN A enters into the clouded picture of American Communist partisanship in the Sino/Soviet rift, but in view of his shifting allegiances he may have divulged to pro-Soviet CPUSA members, or to the Soviets themselves, information on Chinese subversion in the USA. The October 1964 issue of "Hammer & Steel Newsletter" is cited by the Radio Free Europe research bulletin of November 1964 in the latter's review of pro-Chinese factions among Western Communist Parties; RFE research describes "Hammer & Steel" as a monthly produced in Boston by a small American faction. (Portions of the RFE research bulletin with its citations from "Hammer & Steel" are attached as Attachment 1). The marked paragraph from "Hammer & Steel" hits at the idea of white nations' inherent superiority; this is consistent with China's claim of a bond among the colored peoples of the world, which permits such effective anti-Soviet propaganda as the cover of "Revolution" for May 1964, which shows KHRUSHCHEV saying, "We, the whites...".

No Dept was Strelkoff

6. IDEN C's denunciation of IDEN A may have been at least partially caused by suspicion he was trying to gain control of IDEN E; it will be recalled that very shortly before his ouster, IDEN A was in Holland negotiating for that type of printing equipment (HAGU 6137 and OCHA 23818). He is now living in London; he has presumably been obliged to find work there (unless he actually is on an intelligence payroll), and he may have landed with some leftist publishing outfit or even with the CPUK, which is sufficiently divided to afford room for his current views, whatever they may be. In addition to IDEN A's potential for reporting on Chinese propaganda efforts, his uses as a penetration of British or other European Communist publishing circles are obvious.

CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER
	SECRET	OFPA 77970

7. UNBOUND reported that American Communists had allegedly given IDEN C documents showing IDEN A worked for KUBARK. One explanation of this allegation may lie in IDEN A's visit to the American Embassy, Paris, in late 1963, at the request of Mr. John G. GOSSETT, then Acting Consul General. GOSSETT was interested in any information he might have on possible connections between IDEN F, with which IDEN A had been connected, and President Kennedy's assassination. (A copy of GOSSETT's Memorandum of Conversation is attached under separate cover as Attachment 2; his appraisals of IDEN A and his reservations concerning his motives are interesting). IDEN A and GOSSETT had a far-ranging talk, including what may have been a tentative feeler by IDEN A for ODYOKE employment. It seems likely that IDEN A would have reported an American Embassy inquiry to his friends in IDEN F, and he may even have mentioned the possibility of future "work" for ODYOKE, which could have led to eventual allegations that he had been recruited by KUBARK. This is of course speculation, but IDEN A's flexible loyalties and liking for money are surely known to his colleagues, and, if he had already aroused antagonism among them, the Embassy visit would serve as a peg for sincere or expedient denunciation.

8. We can shed no light on the allegation that IDEN G is a KUBARKER (LOND 5337). Our only trace is OELA 39346, stating he is IDEN H. We are not clear as to the relationship between IDEN A, IDEN G, and IDEN I, also mentioned in OELA 39346, which states she "appears to be" IDEN A's wife. According to ODENVY Paris, however, IDEN A is married to IDEN J. OEL 39251 of September 1964 reported that IDEN A and his wife (unnamed) had successfully sued IDEN B for salary arrears; the fact that the wife was also employed recalls the IDEN I professional status, which might make her operationally significant whether or not she is married to IDEN A.

Ann E. Ducote
Ann E. DUCOTE
WOA

Believe IDEN "G" does not exist, & that someone confused him with IDEN "A".

Iden "I" is wife of IDEN "A" She is British and not negro Don't believe there is an IDEN "J"; again there must have been confusion, and her name is that given for IDEN "I"

CONTINUED	PAGE NO.
	3

Att . to: OFFA - 77970, HW

RADIO FREE EUROPE Research

November 17, 19..

United States

One of the most violent reactions came from the heartland of capitalism, from the small American faction which produces the monthly Hammer & Steel Newsletter in Boston. The October issue of the mimeographed bulletin vengefully gives a list of eight reasons why Khrushchev fell -- each one a vindictive crow of triumph, and many attacking not only Khrushchev but basic Soviet policies such as "the distortion of peaceful coexistence." Points 2, 3 and 8 will serve as illustrations:

2. His German policy -- Khrushchev sought to ingratiate himself with West Germany. He was obviously ready to sell out the German Democratic Republic...

3. The declining influence of the CPSU among the Socialist countries and the Communist Parties. The proposed Moscow gathering was shaping up as a conference of only those Party leaders ready to openly serve U.S. imperialist aggression against the national liberation struggles. For example, Asian supporters of Khrushchev could have gathered in a telephone booth.

8. The nuclear success of People's China. Khrushchev had maintained that nuclear power was the exclusive responsibility of revisionists and imperialists -- of white nations. Khrushchev's great power chauvinism was blown sky high in Sinkiang Province.

Although there is no evidence that the politically insignificant Hammer & Steel group enjoys any direct support from the Chinese (as the Russians alleged in their "Open Letter" of July 14, 1963), it has always offered its allegiance to Peking in the most extreme form. This is expressed again in the claim that "Khrushchev's failure to recognize the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and imperialism as the focal contradiction of our time resulted in blindness concerning the leading rôle of the Chinese Party."8 This is a claim that the Chinese themselves would not want to make, expecially at this juncture.

att #16
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PARIS (LCPIPIT)

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INFO
VR. FILE CA2, WE 6 ..., FI, CI, CI/INT 2, CA/PROP, DO4, DO/H 5, CI/IC 2

SECRET 151646Z

DIR INFO LOND PARI BRUS CITE PALP 3073 (CILIBERTI ACTING)

DYDORIC QKOPERA LCHARVEST KUDESK

REF A. DIR 76497 (IN 58385)

B. LOND 5575 (ALSO PER BASTEAR)

15 Jan 65 IN 60705

1. AIRMAILING TO BASYUAR KATZENBACH LETTER WRITTEN TO ENCOUNTER BY GIBSON AT LASKY'S INVITATION RE FINANCIAL BACKING OF REVOLUTION. LASKY WILL NOT RPT NOT PUBLISH SINCE OBVIOUSLY WOULD BURN BRIDGES BETWEEN GIBSON AND OLD COLLEAGUES.

2. SABA LCPIPIT SUGGEST FOLLOWING COURSE OF ACTION:

A. KUBARKER UNDER ODACID POLITICAL OFFICER COVER GET ALL POSSIBLE INFO OUT OF GIBSON USING NECESSARY MINIMUM FINANCIAL INDUCEMENT. DEBRIEFING SHOULD START ASAP AND RELATIONSHIP SHOULD CONTINUE AS LONG AS FRUITFUL (LASKY FEELS GIBSON, AS "RACIAL REVOLUTIONIST, ENTHUSIAST AND OPPORTUNIST" WOULD RESPOND BADLY TO OPEN KUBARK PITCH);

B. MEANWHILE LASKY GIVE GIBSON 100 POUND GRANT TO TRAVEL AND PREPARE ARTICLES WHICH WOULD NOT BE PUBLISHED UNTIL EVIDENT THAT GIBSON BURNED AMONG FORMER CONTACTS;

C. WHEN EVIDENT GIBSON BURNED AND FI POTENTIAL EXHAUSTED

SECRET

15 Jan 65

201-306052

FORM 1-64 1389 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS RI COPY RI COPY (35)

14-00000

SECRET

IN-60705
PAGE 2 of 2.

ENCOUNTER AND OTHER CONGRESS PUBLICATIONS WOULD TRY FOR MAXIMUM PROPAGANDA IMPACT GIBSON'S WRITINGS.

3. APPREC ADDRESSEES REACTIONS ABOVE. [redacted]

4. NO INDEX.

SECRET

CFN

SECRET

4. HQS KEENLY INTERESTED KUBARK DEBRIEFING SUBJ.

FEB 3 2 25 PM '65

FEB 3 11 03 PM '65

14-00000

MESSAGE FORM

ORIG : A. GOODRICH
UNIT : CI/ICG
EXT : 5928
DATE : 14 JAN 65

☐ INDEX
☐ NO INDEX
☐ FILE IN CS FILE NO.

43 S-E-C-R-E-T

☐ DESTROY
☐ RETURN TO BRANCH
☐ FILE RID

TO : LONDON BRUSSELS

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: CI/IC 2 INFO CI, CI/OPS, FI, FE 6, CA 2, CA/O 4, WE 6, FI/INT 2, DISPATCH FILE

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TO LOND INFO BRUS CITE DIR 77493

KUDESK LCHARVEST DTDORIC

FRIEND

RE LOND 5575 (IN 58385)*

DIR 76497**

WHILE APPRECIATE ANY INFO AVAILABLE JAGUAR, HQS HAS VOLUMINOUS FILE ON GIBSON WHICH ADEQUATE BASIS FOR LONDON STATION DIRECT CONTACT WITH GIBSON NOW TO DETERMINE AVAILABILITY AND PRICE FOR ONE WEEK DEBRIEFING BY ODYOKE OFFICIAL ON CONTINENT. WISH CONTACT HIM NOW WHILE HE UNEMPLOYED AND ~~HIS~~ PROBABLY AVAILABLE.

END OF MESSAGE

*CITED INFO FROM JAGUAR RE GIBSON.

**REQUESTED LOND STATION CONTACT GIBSON DETERMINE HIS AVAILABILITY FOR DEBRIEFING.

AN 5B FI
RS
AF 1/A

201-306052

John Caswell
DCWE(BC)

FE/CH W. E. SMITH (BY PHONE)
COORDINATING OFFICERS

WE/BC/C

RELEASING OFFICER
AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

FORM 1-64 1389a SUPERSEDES PREVIOUS EDITIONS. [redacted] RI COPY [redacted] E-[redacted]-[redacted] RI COPY [redacted] [redacted] (35)

INDEX: [ ] YES [X] NO
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INFO: VR. FILE, CA 2, WE 6, FE 6, CI, CI/OPS, FI, FI/SP6, FI/INT 2, CI/IC 2

2P

S E C R E T 121737Z

DIR INFO PALP PARI BRUS CITE LOND 5575 (CAWOOD ACTING)

KUDESK LCHARVEST DIDORIS

12 JAN 65 IN 55838

REF A. DIR 76457

B. BRUS 1858 (NOT SENT ...)

MICROFILMED FEB 10 1965 DOC. MICRO. SER.

1. MATTER DISCUSSED BROAD TERMS WITH JAGUAR. EXPLAINED TO THEM THAT GIBSON OF CURRENT INTEREST TO US, WITH POSSIBLE OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES WHICH NOT YET RESOLVED. WOULD APPRECIATE THEIR READINGS CURRENT ACTIVITIES, ATTITUDES, ETC BY CHANCE THEY HAVE RECENTLY DIRECTED THAT FULLER INFO BE GATHERED ON SUBJECT, IN SUPPORT OF CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF INFO CURRENTLY IN HAND. WILL MAKE AVAILABLE ROUND-UP ON SUBJ WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS.

2. ITEMS CITED FROM MEMORY BY JAGUAR REP: GIBSON DOES NOT YET HAVE JOB: NOT STAYING WITH KAYE (IN-LAW), BUT IN SEPARATE FLAT WITH WIFE AND KIDS; KAYE (BROTHER-IN-LAW) HAD BEEN SUBSIDIZING GIBSONS; GIBSON CORRESPONDING WITH (NEGRO) SOUTH AFRICAN ANC ACTIVITIST CURRENTLY IN INDONESIA WITH AFRO-ASIAN JOURNALISTS ORG, LIONEL MORRISON (201-725837); THERE OBVIOUSLY EXTREMELY BAD BLOOD BETWEEN GIBSON AND JACQUES VERGES (VERGES WAS IN LONDON IN DECEMBER

SECRET

12 Jan. 65

B-201-725837

201-306052

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SECRET

IN 58385 pg. 2

64; JAGUAR TRYING FIND OUT WHOM HE VISITED BUT THINK HE DID NOT SEE GIBSON); GIBSON HAS CONTACTED BBC IN SEARCH OF JOB AND AT LEAST ONE PERSON OF "PREVIOUS RECORD" AS LEFTIST; JAGUAR HAVE COPIES OF SEVERAL OF GIBSON'S LETTERS OVER PAST YEAR; JAGUAR VERY CURIOUS ABOUT WHERE GIBSON'S MONEY IN PAST CAME FROM, SINCE HE LIVED IN VERY ELEGANT STYLE IN PARIS.

3. LOND FEELS DECISION RE DIRECT APPROACH TO GIBSON SHOULD BE DEFERRED AT LEAST PENDING FUTHER ANALYSIS INFO DUE TO BE RECEIVED. TOLD JAGUAR WE KNOW GIBSON IN TOUCH MACFARQUHAR AND CAN ASK SMOTH PROVIDE FURTHER INFO THIS CHANNEL IF MACFARQUHAR NOT ALSO IN TOUCH JAGUAR, BUT PREFER KEEP QUERIES IN ONE PLACE. WILL DEFER QUERY OF SMOTH TILL THIS POINT RESOLVED.

4. VIEW FOREGOING, NO PRESENT NEED THESSIN LOND. WILL ADVISE IF SERVICES REQUIRED. APPRECIATE REF B.

5. ODENVY/LOND BEING KEPT INFORMED AND MOST COOPERATIVE.

6. FURTHER INFO FROM JAGUAR WILL BE FORWARDED SOONEST.

SECRET

CFN

FEB 4 11 08 PM '63

SECRET

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SECRET 061550Z

DIR INFO PALP PARI CITE LOND 5512 CAWOOD ACTING 10 Jan 65 IN 56408

ZIBET LCHARVEST OKOPERA

REF A. LOND 5337 (IN 47512?)

B. PALP 3017 (IN 55241)

1. WHILE LOND HAS RESERVATIONS ABOUT DTLEAFAGE/GIBSON TIE UP, SUGGEST DEFER DECISION TILL MORE INFO IN HAND. REF B DEVELOPMENT WOULD SEEM PROVIDE USEFUL MEANS GETTING MORE THOROUGH ASSESSMENT OF GIBSON (VIA SMOTH/MACFARQUHAR) AND IT WOULD BE INTERESTING KNOW HOW HE GOT ONTO MACFARQUHAR.

2. VIEW MACFARQUHAR ASSOCIATION SMOTH AND CONTINUED JAGUAR INTEREST GIBSON AND REVOLUTION, WOULD APPRECIATE HQS' PERMISSION DISCUSS WITH SMOTH AND JAGUAR. WILL BE SEEING APPROPRIATE JAGUAR OFFICER 12 JAN AND WOULD LIKE DISCUSS AT THAT TIME.

SECRET

CDN 5512 5337 3017 DTLEAFAGE/GIBSON REF B GIBSON VIA SMOTH/ MACFARQUHAR MACFARQUHAR SMOTH JAGUAR HQS' 12 JAN

BT

8 Jan 65

AN / ABSTRACT / RI / INDEX / DESTROY

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7 January 1975
(date)

Review of 201 File on U.S. Citizen

In accordance with the DDO's notice of 9 December 1974, I have reviewed the 201 file on GIBSON, Richard (surname) (201 number indicated below), and have determined that it can most accurately be categorized as indicated below:

[ ] should be closed.

[X] witting collaborator. OI Code A1.

[ ] potential witting collaborator; date opened ______________ OI Code A2.

[ ] former witting collaborator (relationship terminated). OI Code A3.

[ ] potential witting collaborator never contacted (security reasons, derogatory information). OI Code A4.

[ ] counterintelligence case (i.e., involving a foreign intelligence or security service). OI Code A5.

[ ] all others. OI Code A6.

Signed Robert W MAYHEW (name) Ops/Off (title) EUR/ROG (component)

This assignment of category has been entered into STAR.

Signed KM (initials) 22 Jan (date) 1975

This document is a permanent part of this file.

201-306052

E2 IMPDET
CL BY 054979

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C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L

C-O-N-F-I-D-E-N-T-I-A-L
When Filled In

SECRET 23 Dec (date) 1974

Review of 201 File on U.S. Citizen

In accordance with the DDO's notice of 9 December 1974, I have reviewed the 201 file on GIBSON (surname) (201 number indicated below), and have determined that it can most accurately be categorized as indicated below:

☐ should be closed.

☑ witting collaborator. OI Code A1.

☐ potential witting collaborator; date opened ____________ OI Code A2.

☐ former witting collaborator (relationship terminated). OI Code A3.

☐ potential witting collaborator never contacted (security reasons, derogatory information). OI Code A4.

☐ counterintelligence case (i.e., involving a foreign intelligence or security service). OI Code A5.

☐ all others. OI Code A6.

Signed Barbara Bush (name) IA (title) SS/CAG/PAB (component)

This assignment of category has been entered into STAR.

Signed EM (initials) 8 Jan (date) 1975

This document is a permanent part of this file.

201-306052

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